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From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth

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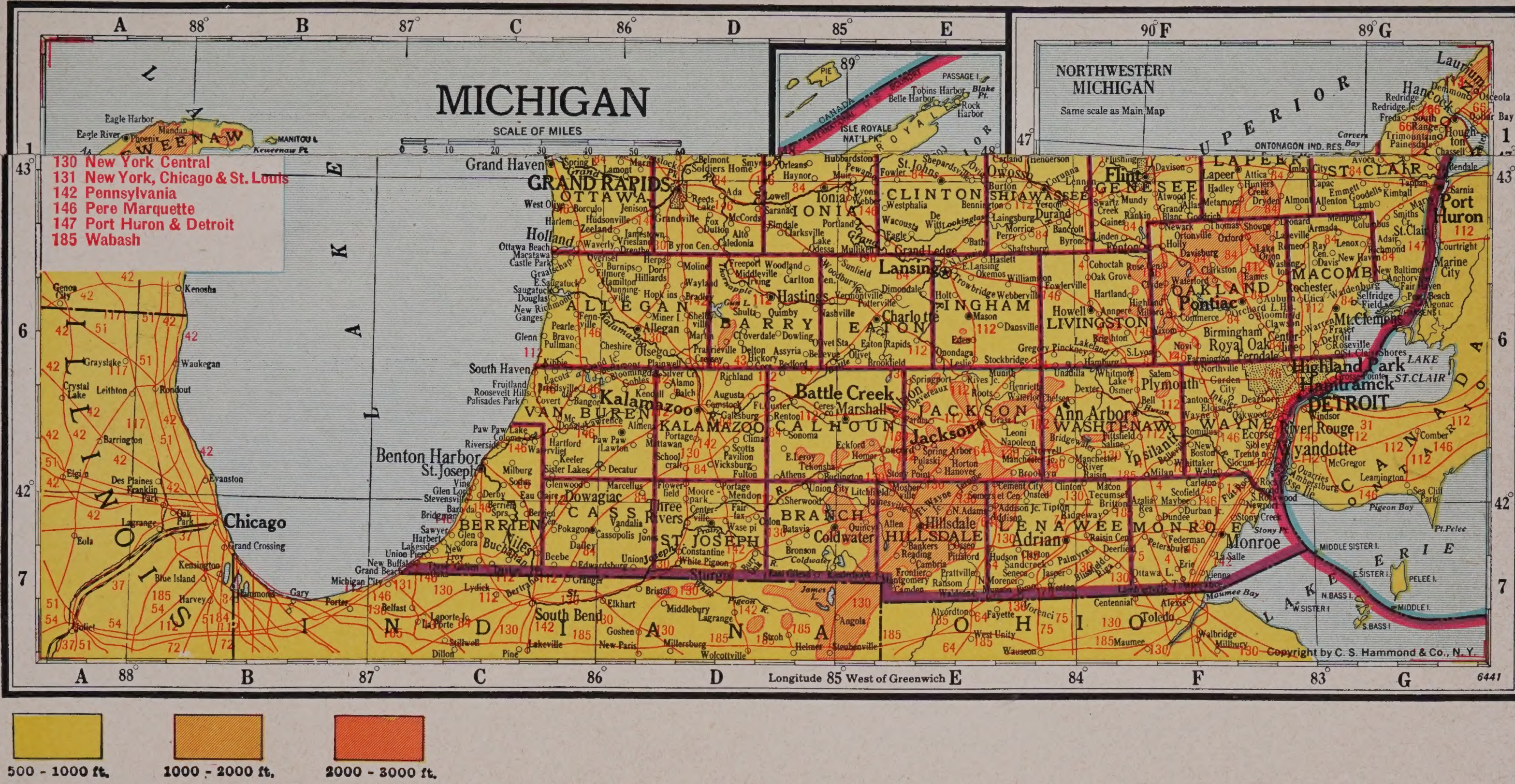
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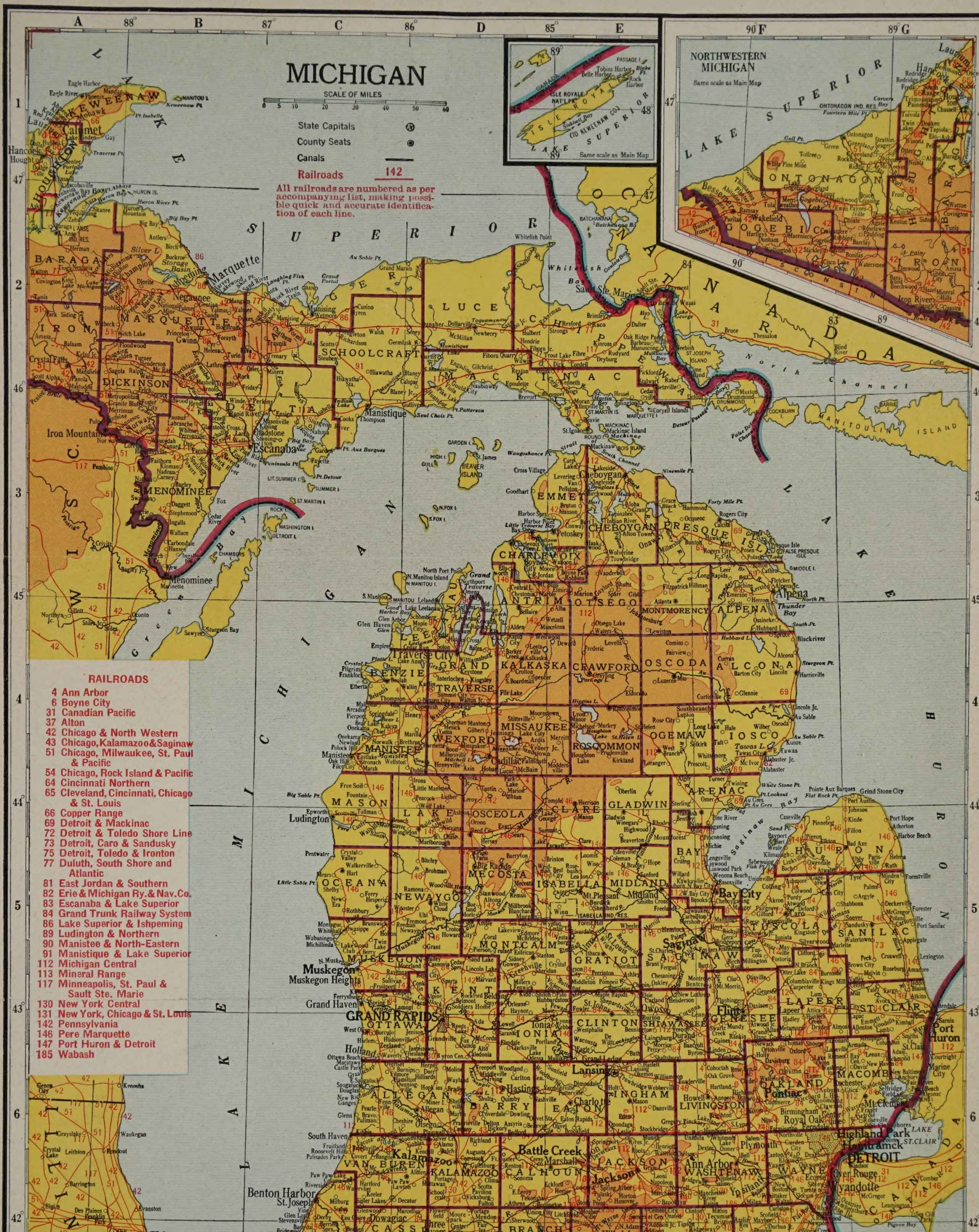

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54	Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific
64	Cincinnati Northern
65	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis
66	Copper Range
69	Detroit & Mackinac
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113	Mineral Range
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MICHIGAN

From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth

M. M. QUAIFE, Ph.D.
and
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Wayne University

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Introduction

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THIS BOOK PROVIDES a comprehensive history of Michigan suited to the needs of classroom students and of mature readers generally. Part I, covering the period from the earliest beginnings of Michigan's existence to her admission as a state in the Union, has been written by M. M. Quaife. Part II, covering the succeeding decades from 1837 to 1948 has been written by Sidney Glazer.

Although the authors have coöperated closely in planning and writing the book, they have made no effort to achieve a common literary style. On the contrary, they have deemed it desirable that each should retain his customary ways of thought and expression, although keeping in view the common objective of producing a scholarly and readable narrative of Michigan's development from the earliest period to the present time.

Originally, the late Professor Claude S. Larzelere, beloved teacher in the Central Michigan College of Education at Mount Pleasant, was to have authored Part II, covering the period of Michigan statehood. Although circumstances prevented the realization of this plan, we wish here to make record of it, and of the lifelong work of Professor Larzelere in fostering the study of the history of his native state. We also wish to record our obligation to Dr. Howard H. Peckham, Director of the Indiana Historical Bureau, and to Professor Raymond C. Miller of Wayne University for their aid in reading and criticizing the manuscript.

M. M. QUAIFE
SIDNEY GLAZER

SEP 2 4 1948

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PART I

Birth of the Commonwealth

By Milo M. Quaife

CHAPTER 1

Before the White Man

GEOLOGISTS, WHO devote their lives to the study of the earth, affirm that 2,000 million years were required to create the land we call Michigan. This vast period of time is subdivided into numerous eras, or ages, some of which themselves lasted hundreds of millions of years. Each of them witnessed its characteristic contribution to the upbuilding of Michigan. Repeatedly the land was submerged beneath the sea, subsequently to rise above its surface, and all the while the processes of erosion with consequent cutting down of the land to deposit it as sediment on the floor of the ocean worked ceaselessly to fashion and locate the many different minerals and kinds of soil we now possess.

Until almost the end of the two-billion-year period the climate had been warm, ranging from temperate to tropical. But about two million years ago a new factor appeared with the advance southward from Canada of a tremendous ice sheet which covered Michigan to the depth of from two to four miles. Four separate times the glacial monster advanced and as many times retreated. Over Michigan, for hundreds of thousands of years, the icy silence of death prevailed. All vegetable life perished and all animals as well, save such as fled before the glaciers' advance. Like a great moving sickle or scraper these glaciers sheared off the elevations and scraped up the surface soil and rocks, carrying along in their onward course the débris thus accumulated to be deposited when a warmer temperature caused the ice to melt, or "retreat."

Geologic time is long and human life is painfully short. The last ice cap began its retreat from southwestern Michigan about 35,000 years ago. In its wake the water which came from the melting ice formed rivers which found outlet to the sea now by one avenue and now by another. In the wake of the retreating glacier, also, came plant and animal life; forests sprang up, and mighty mastodons roamed the land, while fish and other forms of marine life populated the lakes and rivers. Although the processes of geologic change are unceasing, when the white man first came to Michigan somewhat over three centuries ago—but a few seconds of geologic time—the land had assumed substantially its present form.

For uncounted centuries before the white man appeared, Michigan had been the home of the red Indian. The white men found him here and in time displaced him, although several thousand Indians still live in the State. Our present volume is chiefly concerned with the development of modern Michigan, and, although the red man will find frequent place in it, no effort will be made to tell his story comprehensively.

The first white men who came to Michigan were Frenchmen from the lower St. Lawrence Valley, and for more than a century the story of Michigan is that of a remote outpost of New France. Before we start to tell that story, it should prove helpful to give a brief survey of some of the conditions the white men encountered in taking possession of their new homeland.

In the history of the human race two factors are constantly present: Man himself, with whatever he possesses of character and capacity, and the environment in which he lives. The white man who came to America from western Europe four centuries ago brought, in himself, the first factor in our history; the land to which he came supplied the second. Our immediate task is to survey briefly the American continent, noting some of the outstanding factors which were to influence the white man's occupation of it, and so to shape his further history.

Prominent among these factors is the simple fact of the distance of America from Europe, with its attendant freedom from Old World influences. The cradle of civilization is found in southern Asia, and civilization spread from there with painful slowness to southern and western Europe. Here at the Atlantic barrier its westward progress was halted many centuries, keeping the New World an unknown land while the race was achieving a passable degree of civilization in the Old. When at length America was found, the difficulties encountered in settling it reserved it as the prize for the most enterprising people of Europe. After these settlers had achieved a foothold in America the factor of distance left them relatively free to develop the newer ideals of government and society which today chiefly serve to distinguish the American from the Old World dweller. To the present moment this factor of distance, with its attendant freedom from Old World domination, has been a foremost influence in shaping the ideals and policies of the American nation.

Since the dawn of recorded history the North Temperate Zone has been the chief home of civilization, whose course has been marked by a general westwardly trend. It was a factor of no mean significance, therefore, that America lay due west of Europe in the favored North Temperate Zone and in the direct path of westward-moving civilization, and that the contour of the American Atlantic coast facilitated access to the Continent.

In general, the Atlantic Coast is irregular, with numerous deep indentations and many sheltering harbors whose abundance invited settlement and determined the places where it should first be made—as at Quebec, Boston, New York, Baltimore, Jamestown, and Charleston. In contrast, the entire Pacific Coast of the United States possesses only a few good harbors. North of the United States, it is true, the coast offers an abundance of harbors, but the forbidding character of their hinterland—not penetrated until 300 years after Columbus and even today largely uninhabited and unknown—together with their remoteness combined to render them of no historical significance in the settlement of the continent.

North America is triangular in shape, having its base at the north and its apex at the south. Along its entire western side stretches the vast Rocky Mountain plateau, barring access to the interior save by a comparatively small number of mountain passes. In the East lies the Appalachian Mountain system, extending from Labrador to Georgia where it tapers off to permit the merging of the Atlantic and the Gulf coastal plains. Like the Rockies, the Appalachian Mountains operated as a bar to the penetration of the continent, and since the white man came to America from the eastward this barrier has affected powerfully the course of American history. The three conspicuous breaks in this Appalachian Mountain chain are those of the St. Lawrence and Hudson Rivers and the Cumberland Gap, each of which has played its significant rôle in the settlement of America.

Between the two mountain systems lies the great central plain, extending from the Arctic Ocean and Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Its lower portion is drained by the Mississippi River system, which interlocks by numerous river and portage routes with the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system of which Michigan forms a part. Probably most Michigan readers will note with surprise the fact that they dwell in the valley of the Great River of Canada, yet save for those who reside in a relatively small area of the Upper Peninsula this is the simple geographical fact.

Our own commonwealth is unique among the forty-eight which comprise the American Nation. Only Michigan's land area is divided by a broad body of water into two main segments whose 2,300-mile coastline far exceeds that of any other state. Only Michigan has a water area approximately two-thirds as great as its land area. Compared with states lying east of the Mississippi, Michigan is a land of magnificent distances, with an area almost one and two-thirds greater than that of Georgia, its closest eastern rival. Its northerly extreme lies closer to the Pole than does the city of Quebec, and its southern boundary is in the latitude of Providence and New Bedford at the end of New England. The distance by the shortest state highway from

Toledo on the southeast to Ironwood at the northwest is almost 700 miles, greater than from Detroit to New York City.

In much greater degree than any other commonwealth Michigan is the child of the Great Lakes. These vast inland seas, comprising a large proportion of all the fresh water on earth, enclose, and at the same time separate, the Upper and Lower Peninsulas, influencing the climate materially and offering almost unlimited facilities for water transportation throughout the extensive borders of the State.

Between Michigan's northern and southern areas the range of soil and climate is very wide. Southward from the Bay City-Muskegon line lies an expanse of fertile fields, the northward extension of the farm lands of Ohio and Indiana. Northward from that boundary a much poorer soil and colder climate is encountered. Originally it was timbered with white pine and other forest trees whose felling in the later nineteenth century gave to Michigan first rank as a lumber-producing state and left behind a vast extent of cut-over wasteland. The result follows that most of the population and wealth of the state is found in the southern area, whereas the northern area is still a sparsely settled wilderness of woods and waters, chiefly noted for its mineral products and as a vacation land for hunters and tourists.

The newcomer to the shores of America found the eastern half of the Continent a forested land; familiar with forests in Europe, he plunged into this wilderness, the axe and the gun his indispensable tools. For two hundred years the American settler remained a forest dweller. At length, in the early nineteenth century, he emerged upon the western prairies, where his forest arts and economy failed him. Only in recent years has he painfully achieved a partial mastery of the Great Plains and learned how to exist upon them; while "Dust Bowls" and governmental panaceas of wholesale relief leave it painfully clear that the American Desert still challenges the settler's best power to develop it as a seat of civilization.

Michigan, however, belongs to the forested area of the Continent, and to this our attention is chiefly confined. The first-comers to America encountered much difficulty in applying their Old World agricultural knowledge to the New World environment. Because of this, they either subsisted upon supplies brought from home or on food procured from the Indians, or they starved. Gradually, Old World crops and fruits were introduced, but the first-comers invariably depended on the natives for food supplies and for instructions in hunting and in agriculture. Tobacco, corn, and potatoes are but three of the foods developed by the Indian which are still among the most important crops raised in America.

Although the red man had made substantial progress in agriculture, he had made none in animal husbandry, except for the dog, which served him both as food and as beast of burden. The settler brought with him such animals as horses, cows, sheep, and hogs. The animals of the New World were wild ones, and their economic importance to the settler was as a source of food and as fur-bearers. The former use tended to become progressively less important as settlement advanced, and the New World animals were historically significant chiefly as fur-bearers. Both in Europe and in the Orient the demand for furs was keen. The forests of America contained an abundant supply of this one important product that the Indians could offer in exchange for the white man's goods. The pursuit of this branch of trade shaped the course of American history. There were many fur-bearing animals, chiefly members of the weasel family, but the beaver, found in almost every North American stream, outranked in importance all the rest.

Although the white man found North America a wilderness, it was far from a vacant one. Everywhere he found the New World occupied by the race of people upon whom the erroneous geographical ideas of Columbus fixed the name of "Indians." In addition to a new world, Columbus had revealed to Europeans a new division of the human race. Although a convenient legal formula decreed that, as a heathen, the Indian had no rights which were valid in Christian eyes, the red man stubbornly contested the possession of the land, compelling the whites to adapt their legal theory to existing realities as best they might.

There is a popular misconception which pictures the Indians as a homogeneous race of men, who—depending upon the observers' degree of intimacy with them—either exemplify the Noble Red Man of Cooper's idealistic tales, or the vile creatures responsible for the dictum that the only good Indian is a dead one. In actual fact, the culture and mode of life of the Indians varied greatly in different portions of North America, the chief cause of the variations being, apparently, the different geographical conditions to which they were subject. Because of these differences, no single description of the American Indian that is universally applicable to all the tribes can be penned, yet certain broad characteristics of the race can be set down which will apply with varying degrees of fidelity to the many individual groups or factions which together composed it.

Although they comprised but a single race, the Indians were divided into many nations or tribes, each one as conscious of its individuality as are the numerous nations of Europe. Politically, they possessed but a rudimentary governmental organization. The chief who on occasion assumed to speak for the tribe commonly exercised but slight control over the conduct of his followers, and simple anarchy prevailed in large degree. Of the binding effect of the white man's treaty the Indians had but a dim conception. This absence of effective public control over the individual combined with certain ideals concerning clan loyalty and the attainment of manhood to make warfare interminable.

Compared with ideas of the white man, the economic conceptions of the red man were likewise elementary. He was a stranger to the idea of individual ownership of the soil and he had but scant store of other tangible property. Such as he had, he shared with others in a fashion entirely unknown to the white man's code of conduct. His adherence to the underlying principle of communism, with all its attendant evils, operated as an effective bar to the exercise of any real individual ambition.

The red man's moral code was intricate, and being a child of nature, he probably adhered to it more rigorously than civilized men adhere to theirs. But between red man and white lay a gulf so deep that it was commonly impossible for either really to comprehend the motives which animated the conduct of the other. The white man might seek in vain, for example, for the obscure clue, embedded in some age-old principle of clan allegiance, which induced the red man to slay, suddenly and with seeming treachery, his best friend; or he might totally misjudge the red man's motives and moral standards when, as an act of simple hospitality, he offered the stranger his wife or daughter as a companion for the night.

Because the red man shared his material possessions freely and valued them lightly, he readily became a beggar in the white man's eyes when he assumed a liberty with the latter's possessions such as he exercised with his own. Yet the Indian's pride was no whit inferior to that of the white man. The black man throve in slavery, while the red commonly preferred death to such a status. His bravery and his enterprise in warfare made him a formidable foe to encounter; yet here, too, he was animated by motives so different from those of his white foe that the latter commonly despised him as a poltroon. Because of his conviction that the white man's way of life was not intended by the Creator for him, he stubbornly resisted all efforts to civilize or convert him. Gradually, of course, he was compelled to accept the boon of civilization or perish; yet after three hundred years of close contact with the white man, he remains a stranger to most of the latter's industrial arts as the present status of the surviving remnant of Michigan Indians sufficiently discloses.

The life of the primitive inhabitants of Michigan, although rude, was not without its attractions. Indeed, the white man slipped into it far more readily than the Indian made the contrary transition from savagery to civilization. Frontier annals abound with instances of white men and women who, having become inured to the life of the red man, emphatically declined to embrace the opportunity later offered them to return to civilization. Yet the life of the savage red man was far from being the idyllic existence it has often been pictured. In all human souls there inheres an instinctive longing for freedom. With the advance of civilization, however, and the ever-increasing complexity of our economic life, the individual becomes hedged about by innumerable conventions, regulations, and laws. Revolting against this strait-jacketing, ardent souls in every generation have cried out for the freedom and simplicity of life which they have supposed the savage enjoys. Such was the underlying ideal of the eighteenth-century philosophers and dreamers who prepared the way for the French Revolution.

Closer acquaintance with the life of the savage, however, would have tempered the philosophers' zeal for the destruction of the structure of civilized society. Freedom of a sort, indeed, the red man enjoyed, but for it he paid a huge price, and the ancient tribal conventions enslaved him more completely in many respects than anything the white man knew. If at certain seasons he reveled in abundance, at others stark famine beset him. He was inured to a life of physical activity and exposure, yet he knew nothing of the laws of sanitation and could only resort to necromancy for relief from the diseases and epidemics that beset him. The women, often charming in their early teens, were commonly repulsive old hags before the age of thirty. So great were the perils of childhood that only the hardiest survived them. Although the Indian women became mothers early and often, comparatively few of their offspring survived to maturity. Instances of longevity were not unknown, yet the lot of the aged and infirm was one of unalloyed privation and misery, which terminated all too often in death deliberately inflicted by one's relatives or in abandonment to die of exposure and starvation.

Linguistically, ethnologists group the many tribes of North America into half a dozen families, or groups. Two of these are of prime interest to the history of Michigan. The Algonquian family comprised most of the tribes found east of the Mississippi from the Arctic region southward to modern Tennessee. To this family belonged the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, and many others whose names will be encountered later in our narrative. The Iroquoian family was composed of five tribes—Seneca, Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga—which constituted an island in the midst of the Algonquian tribes. They occupied both sides of Lake Ontario, extending eastward to the Hudson and down the St. Lawrence toward Quebec. In American colonial history these tribes became famous as the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy (after 1712 when they were joined by the Tuscarora, they were known as the Six Nations). To the Iroquois family, also, belonged the Erie, Huron, Neutrals, and certain other tribes, which are not commonly associated with the Five Nations. Their conquest and partial extermination by the latter in the seventeenth century comprise a tragic and important introduction to the white exploration of Michigan.

For 400 years the red man strenuously contested the westward advance of the white man across the continent, yielding the hopeless struggle only within the memory of many men and women who are still living. This bitter opposition, with its international alliances and rivalries, influenced powerfully the history of America, forcing the white man to consolidate his gains as he advanced, and the settler to develop qualities of self-reliance, government, and individual competence as the price of survival. In short, it contributed to the creation of the character of the frontier, whose influence many historians regard as the most important element in the making of America.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 1

Reading aids for this chapter are almost embarrassingly abundant. On the general subject of the geographic influences which have operated to shape American history, consult Ellen C. Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions* (Boston, 1903; revised edition, 1933); Albert P. Brigham, *Geographic Influences in American History* (Boston, 1903); Livingston Farrand, *Basis of American History* (New York, 1904. This is volume II of *The American Nation Series,* which although published a generation ago still remains the most convenient authoritative work of general reference for the story of our nation's growth); Ellsworth Huntington, *The Red Man's Continent* (New Haven, 1920. This is volume I of *The Chronicles of America* series, which undertakes to describe, in brief and popular fashion, the more outstanding aspects of American history.) *The Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907-10, 2 volumes) edited by Frederick W. Hodge, is a mine of valuable information concerning the several Indian tribes, arranged in encyclopaedic fashion. Another work indispensable to the serious scholar is *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* edited by R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 volumes). These are the reports from the field of the Jesuit missionaries who either accompanied or soon followed the earliest traders and officials into the western country, and whose extensive and frequently graphic reports provide a vast storehouse of information upon the subject of early explorations and White-Indian contacts.

For more particular reference to Michigan note Wilbert B. Hinsdale, *Archeological Atlas of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1931); the same author's *The First People of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1938); and the voluminous *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections* and the *Michigan History Magazine.* These two series provide a quantity of data covering practically every aspect of Michigan's history. They should be found in every public library in the State. Calvin Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1940) is a delightful volume containing a wide assortment of data dealing with Michigan in the French and British periods. Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), although written primarily for Wisconsin readers, yet constitutes a scholarly discussion which in major part is scarcely less applicable to Michigan. W. Vernon Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor, 1940) is a scholarly study of five of the leading tribes of Michigan and the adjacent area. Most recent of extensive histories of Michigan is George N. Fuller (editor), *Michigan, A Centennial History of the State and Its People* (Chicago, 1939) whose opening chapters of volume I deal with the Indians, the French régime, and the fur trade. An admirable narrative of Michigan's first two billion years is Helen M. Martin (editor), *They Need Not Vanish A Discussion of the Natural Resources of Michigan* (Lansing, 1942). On the extent and significance of Michigan's water area see Chase S. and Stellanova Osborn's pungent volume, *Errors in Official U. S. Area Figures* (Lancaster, Penn., 1945).

CHAPTER 2

The Founding of New France

THE EXPLORATION of North America progressed with extraordinary slowness. In the South, Spain quickly established her New World Empire, extending her explorations into the southern part of the United States. More than a hundred years elapsed, however, before England and France, who were eventually to monopolize the northern half of the continent, succeeded in establishing a single settlement in America. Almost a century and a half passed before the first Frenchman skirted the shores of Michigan, and more than two hundred years before Detroit, its oldest city, was founded.

For more than a century following the discovery of the New World the energies of the kings of France were absorbed in waging an almost unbroken series of foreign and domestic wars, leaving them scant opportunity to undertake the founding of a New France across the ocean. Yet one important thing was done, fateful for the future of North America. By the voyages of Giovanni Verrazano and Jacques Cartier in the years from 1524 to 1542 the Great River of Canada was discovered and explored as far as Montreal, and the French acquired a well grounded claim to the lands adjoining the St. Lawrence River and Gulf.

In 1598 Henry of Navarre terminated the long period of civil war in France by accepting Catholicism, and ascended the throne as King Henry IV. There followed a dozen years of governmental and economic restoration, terminated by the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac in 1610. Brief as the interval of peace and order was, it sufficed to permit the permanent founding of New France.

To understand the background of exploration in the New World, we must revert to that delectable thirteenth-century traveler and adventurer, Marco Polo. For many years he resided, with his father and uncle, at the court of the Grand Khan of Tartary, and on returning to his native Venice he wrote a book describing his travels which, after more than 600 years, still enjoys widespread fame and popularity. In it the oriental realm which today we know as China was made to appear as a land of fabulous wealth and luxury. Although Marco did not deny himself an occasional flight into the realm of fiction, broadly speaking his narrative had the great merit of being true. Compared with mediaeval western Europe, the Orient *was* a realm of refinement and luxury. Polo's widely read narrative (one of its earnest readers was the Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus), advertised China to the western Europeans and implanted in them a desire to share in its products. In response to this demand trade routes leading from Italy to the Indies were developed, over which, at great expenditure of time and money, the spices, rugs, jewels, and metal wares of the Indies were carried to Italy and from there distributed to the nations of western Europe.

The expense of conducting this commerce was so great that its volume was limited to articles of high value and small bulk, and only the wealthy could afford to enjoy them when they arrived. Quite naturally, then, the western nations sought to find a new and easier way to the Indies. In this enterprise the Portuguese rulers long played a notable rôle, finally crowned with success in 1498 when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made his way by sea to India. Meanwhile, the Genoese navigator, Columbus, was wrestling with another solution of the problem. If, as everyone knew, the ocean washed the shore of western Europe, and if, as Marco Polo related, it likewise washed the shore of eastern China, why might not one find an easy route to the Indies by sailing west across the Sea of Darkness? In 1492, he put this theory to the test, and the name "Indians," bestowed by him upon the natives he found, still advertises his belief that he had succeeded in finding a western all-water route to the Indies.

The explorers who followed in the path of Columbus were slow in perceiving that an entire New World interposed between Europe and the Indies. When this fact gradually dawned upon them, they sought earnestly to complete the task which Columbus thought he had succeeded in, by seeking a way through or around the troublesome continent of America. For three centuries this motive animated them, and it directly explains the establishment of New France and its extension westward over the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley.

Samuel de Champlain, the "Father" of New France, is one of the great figures of American history. Born in 1569 at Brouage on the Bay of Biscay, his first thirty years of life were passed amid the turmoil of the religious and civil strife which afflicted France. Although Champlain was a zealous Catholic, he spent ten years as a soldier under the banner of the great Protestant leader, Henry of Navarre. The treaty of Vervins in 1598 brought peace between Henry and his enemies, one of whom was the King of Spain. Although Champlain had been fighting against that monarch, he now entered his service, and in 1599, as captain of a ship in a fleet of twenty galleons, he sailed for New Spain. He passed three years in this service, taking careful note of everything he saw and heard, and on returning to France he utilized this knowledge by writing and publishing a book, the first of several narratives which were to win for him a solid reputation as a geographer and explorer.

King Henry had already sanctioned two efforts to establish a colony in Canada and both had ended in failure. A third expedition was about to be undertaken, and Champlain was appointed to accompany it in the capacity of geographer. Thus, in 1603 he made his first visit to Canada. On this initial voyage he ascended the St. Lawrence to Montreal, carrying with him a copy of Cartier's journal and identifying the places which his predecessor had described almost seventy years earlier. The savages of Montreal gave him a fairly good account of the water route as far as Lake Huron, including Niagara Falls and the Detroit River. They also told him of the copper mines of Lake Superior, although they were unable to identify their location. The sum of all this information imbued Champlain with the desire to pursue the exploration of the Great River, which he imagined would afford the much-desired pathway to the Western Sea and thence onward to the Indies.

He was diverted from this design for several years by the insistence of his superiors upon establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. This effort failed, however, and in 1608 Champlain was enabled to return once more to the St. Lawrence, where on July 3 was begun the settlement of Quebec, the first permanent French establishment in America.

Quebec became the seat of government of New France, and from this base Champlain's further operations were conducted. In 1609 he explored the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, and in this connection began the hostility with the Iroquois which was to continue for generations and to prove an important influence in the founding of Detroit. About this time Champlain began the policy, which he pursued for many years, of sending certain promising youths home with the distant bands of Indians who visited Quebec, to reside with the Indians while they learned the language and habits of the tribe and the geography of the region.

The first of these youths was Étienne Brulé, who, in 1610, as a mere lad accompanied homeward an Algonquin chief who had come down to Quebec. Until he was slain by Indians in 1632 he continued to live in the wilderness, engaging in extended journeys, and probably discovering in advance of any other white man Lake Superior, Lake Huron, and Lake Erie. The story of his adventures and travels would no doubt have been a thrilling one, but he left no journals, and the little we know of his career comes to us chiefly from the writings of his patron, Champlain.

Another youth whom Champlain had sent into the wilderness was Nicholas Vignau, who was sent with a tribe that lived up the Ottawa River. Champlain returned to France and in 1612 Vignau joined him there bringing a wonderful story. He had gone with the Indians to the northern ocean, where he had seen the wreck of an English ship. The discovery of the route to Cathay seemed assured, and, returning to Canada, Champlain set out in 1613, with Vignau as his guide, to visit the ocean the latter had reported. It soon developed that Vignau's tale was a mere invention, and the net result of his mendacity was that Champlain explored the Ottawa as far as Lake Allumette.

Greatly disappointed, he returned to Quebec. In 1615 he again set out for the West. Guided by friendly Huron Indians he ascended the Ottawa and its tributary, the Mattawa, traversed Lake Nipissing, and descended French River to Georgian Bay. There he turned southward to Huronia at the head of the Bay. Here he joined a foray against the Iroquois in north central New York. The route taken led eastward across Ontario to the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and across that lake to the vicinity of modern Syracuse. Champlain was wounded in the ensuing battle and, returning to Huronia with the war party, he spent the winter there, diligently collecting information about the farther West. From the Indians he learned of the buffalo country lying beyond another great lake, at a distance of forty days' journey. His hope of visiting it in the spring of 1616, however, was defeated by an untimely quarrel between his Huron and Algonquin allies, and after composing this he reluctantly returned to Quebec, after an absence of about a year.

Although he lived until 1635, his years of wilderness exploration were now ended. Renewed civil and foreign wars afflicted France. In 1629 Quebec was captured by the English, who for three years remained as conquerors of infant New France. When the war ended, they restored Quebec to the French, and in 1633 Champlain, now old and spent by his years of wilderness exposure, returned to Quebec, where he died on Christmas Day of 1635. His closing years were devoted to the restoration of the colony, and his last letter to Richelieu was an appeal for soldiers to defend New France against her enemies. With never failing zeal and fortitude he had devoted half a lifetime to his colony. Although his material success seemed small, he had planted the French race forever in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and had laid the foundation for the remarkable French expansion to the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico.

One notable enterprise of Champlain's closing years remains to be related. Among the youths whom he had selected about twenty years before to undergo the schooling of the wilderness was Jean Nicolet, who was first sent to the savages of Allumette Island in the Ottawa River. Here, without a single white companion, Nicolet dwelt for two years, "always joining the barbarians in their excursions and journeys, and undergoing such fatigues as none but eye-witnesses can conceive; he often passed seven or eight days without food, and once full seven weeks with no other nourishment than a little bark from the trees." [1]

This two-year novitiate in the arts of savagery was interrupted by an expedition of his hosts against the Iroquois, which he accompanied with the happy consequence that he was instrumental in restoring peace between the two warring nations. After this he retired still farther into the wilderness, going this time to the Nipissing, who lived north of the lake which still bears their name. Here Nicolet passed the next eight or nine years, "taking part in the very frequent councils of these tribes, having his own separate cabin and household, and fishing and trading for himself." But he did not forget, meanwhile, the object of his mission, for he kept during this period a memoir of the habits and customs of the Nipissing.

Thus did Champlain thoroughly school the men on whom he relied for assistance in extending the colony of New France over the American wilderness. Nicolet was recalled, at length, to Quebec, where he was appointed to the office of interpreter. Following the English occupation, Champlain returned to New

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[1] See *Jesuit Relations,* XXIII, 275-283, for Father Vimont's account of the career of Nicolet.

France and almost immediately began to lay his plans for the renewal of that western exploration from which he himself had been diverted in 1616. The Huron were at war with a tribe which lay far to the westward, and it suited the interests of the French to restore peace between the warring nations. For this task the obvious agent was Nicolet, and in July, 1634 he set forth upon his mission.

If he kept a journal of his tour it has never been found, and about all we know of it is contained in the obituary record of Nicolet's career written following his death in 1642 by his friend and admirer, Father Vimont. He relates that Nicolet was sent "to make a journey to the nation called the People of the Sea, and arrange peace between them and the Huron, from whom they are distant about 300 leagues westward. He embarked in the Huron country with seven savages; and they passed by many small nations, both going and coming. . . . When he was two days' journey from that nation, he sent one of these savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was especially well received when they heard that it was an European who carried the message. . . . They meet him; they escort him, and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and the children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about, and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least six-score beaver. The peace was concluded; he returned to the Huron, and some time later to Three Rivers, where he continued his employment as agent and interpreter, to the great satisfaction of both the French and the savages, by whom he was equally and singularly loved."

There is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of Father Vimont's narrative, but its interpretation involves a number of puzzling questions, and from it a lengthy and almost wholly imaginary account of Nicolet's expedition has been spun. Those scholars who have studied the subject commonly agree that from Huronia Nicolet passed through the Straits of Mackinac and along the northern shore of Lake Michigan to the Green Bay Peninsula.[2] Thus he became the discoverer of the lands of Michigan and Wisconsin, and of the great lake from which our own commonwealth takes its name. Precisely how far westward or southward he went, and what Wisconsin tribe played the rôle of host to him, are matters for speculation and conjecture. One puzzling ray of light upon the problem is shed by an incidental remark of Father Vimont, made in his report of 1640, two years before Nicolet's death. Discussing, for the benefit of his superiors, the tribes and geography of the interior, he advances the theory that by way of, "the second great lake of the Huron" (that is, Lake Michigan) one can descend to the sea which lies to the north of Mexico. "Sieur Nicolet," he continues, "who had advanced farthest into those so distant countries, has assured me that if he had sailed three days' journey farther upon a great river which issues from this lake, he would have found the sea." And the hopeful Father expresses the "strong suspicion that this is the sea which answers to that north of New Mexico, and that from this sea there would be an outlet towards Japan and China."

Like other statements of Father Vimont, we find difficulty in harmonizing this one with our present-day geographical knowledge. Since no great river issues from Lake Michigan, it seems certain that he misunderstood what Nicolet actually told him. But assuming Nicolet spoke of a river which flowed into Lake Michigan, since he did not himself visit the sea, his information concerning it must have come from the savages, and he was sadly deceived with respect to its actual distance from Lake Michigan.

Although the French were unable to continue the work of western exploration for a long time, the discoverer of Michigan and Wisconsin and of the great lake which lies between them, will always excite our keenest interest. Returning to Canada, where we may be sure Champlain awaited his report with expectant eagerness, Nicolet resumed his duties of interpreter at Three Rivers. In the autumn of 1637 he was married at Quebec, his bride being a godchild of Champlain. Five years later he terminated his career with an act as noble as his life had been adventurous. During his temporary absence at Quebec some Algonquins came to Three Rivers with a prisoner whom they planned to torture. Word of this was sent to Nicolet, who promptly set out to rescue the doomed wretch. Near Sillery the shallop in which he had embarked was swamped by the waves stirred up by a violent wind. "Save yourself," cried Nicolet to his companion, "you can swim but I cannot. As for me, I depart to God. I commend to you my wife and daughter." The savages of Sillery manifested "unspeakable grief" over the death of their friend. "This was not the first time that this man had exposed himself to the perils of death for the weal and salvation of the savages—he did so very often," observes Father Vimont; and thus died the dauntless pioneer who, save for Brulé, was the first European to visit the land we know as Michigan.

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[2] Louis Burbey, a recent student of the subject, supposes that Nicolet visited the Sault on his outward journey, passing thence along the southern coast of Lake Superior and crossing the Michigan Upper Peninsula by some convenient river route to the northerly end of Green Bay. He agrees with earlier scholars that Nicolet returned eastward by way of the Straits of Mackinac.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 2

Champlain, the "Father" of New France, was an industrious writer whose works have been published in several editions, the most notable being the Champlain Society Edition edited by H. P. Biggar (Toronto, 1922-36, 7 volumes). A brief excellent Life of Champlain is Charles W. Colby, *The Founder of New France* (*The Chronicles of Canada* series, Toronto, 1915). George W. Wrong, *Rise and Fall of New France* (New York, 1928), volume I, chapters VI-IX; Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin,* chapter IV; and Fred Landon, *Lake Huron* (*The American Lakes Series,* Indianapolis, 1944) chapter I, cover the same general story. Chapter V of Kellogg's book and chapter I of M. M. Quaife, *Lake Michigan* (*The American Lakes Series,* Indianapolis, 1944) tell the story of Jean Nicolet and the discovery of Lake Michigan, which is also related more or less adequately in most state histories of Wisconsin and Michigan. Father Vimont's narrative, which sums up most of our information concerning Nicolet is found in volume XXIII of the *Jesuit Relations.*

CHAPTER 3

The Jesuits and Huronia

STRANGE ARE THE workings of Providence in the heart of sinful man, and nowhere may one find them more strangely exemplified than in the career of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. At the siege of Pampeluna in the spring of 1521, a French cannon-ball in its flight collided with the leg of a young Spanish officer, inflicting wounds from which he was long in recovering. The resulting confinement afforded opportunity for reading and reflection, with the consequence that from a professional soldier with worldly aims and a free and easy moral code, Loyola was transformed into a religious zealot whose life henceforth was devoted to the service of God and His Holy Church.

But thousands of religious zealots before and since Loyola's time have lived and died without leaving any perceptible mark on the course of history. That Loyola did so was due to the cleverness with which he met what seemed to him the crying need of the time. A German contemporary, one Martin Luther, had begun, a short time before, the vast social and religious revolution we call the Protestant Reformation. Whatever its merits may have been, it shook the power of the Church to its foundation, rending asunder the universal organization which had been built up through many centuries of painful effort. Viewing the contemporary scene of warfare and social dissension with the eyes of a professional soldier, Loyola conceived the idea of forming a new religious order, dependent directly upon the Pope himself, which should act as the militant arm of the Church. The result was the Society of Jesus, which still flourishes. Its members, sworn to chastity, poverty, and obedience to their superiors, were subjected to a long and arduous course of training, whose object was to divorce them completely from all local ties and individual interests, and to animate them with a fiery zeal for the advancement of the Order to which their lives had been dedicated. Loyola planned that the Jesuits, unlike the older religious orders, should live in intimate contact with the world, and their training was designed to equip them to mix with men and exercise an influence over them. In the century following the founding of the Order, its members went out to the ends of the earth, eagerly encountering every conceivable privation and peril to the end that the sway of Christ and His Holy Church might become in fact, no less than in theory, universal.

So the cannon fired at Pampeluna in 1521 caused results which were to prove of vast importance in the history of New France and Michigan. Among the tribes which Champlain early encountered at Quebec were the Huron, who had formerly lived on the lower St. Lawrence but who, before the founding of Quebec, had removed hundreds of miles inland, settling in the region adjoining the southern end of Georgian Bay. There they had established many fortified villages, and had become a sedentary nation leading a partly hunting, partly agricultural life.

Although the Huron belonged to the Iroquoian family, they had long since quarreled with their kinsmen who lived south of Lake Ontario. Quite possibly this quarrel was the real reason for their removal inland to the shores of Georgian Bay. However this may be, they easily established friendly relations with Champlain, who, in 1609, himself became embroiled with the Iroquois. The basis for a friendly alliance between the French and the Huron was thus laid, and under their guidance Champlain made his journey by way of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing to Georgian Bay and Huronia in 1615. Although he returned to Quebec the following summer, the Huron continued to pay their annual visits to that place, and we may be sure that French traders from time to time accompanied them on the return to their inland home.

Thus the French became acquainted with the way to Huronia less than a decade after the founding of Quebec, and Huronia became the scene of the first extension of French activity beyond the region of the lower St. Lawrence. But the chief rôle in this first expansion of New France belongs not to the traders, intent on commercial gain, but to the missionaries, eager to spread the true faith among the heathen. The story of Huronia deals with one of the most interesting missionary enterprises in the history of America.

Until 1615 there were no priests in Canada. But Champlain was a loyal Catholic, and near his native town of Brouage was an establishment of the Recollet Order. On one of his visits to France he invited the Recollets to send out missionaries to Canada. They accepted the invitation and in the spring of 1615 three members of the Order sailed for Quebec, where they became the founders of the first permanent French mission to the Indians in America. One of the three, Father Le Caron, set out this same summer for Huronia, where he was welcomed by the natives, who provided him with a cabin. A few days later Champlain arrived, and on August 12, 1615 attended the first mass ever celebrated in what is now the great province of Ontario.

Thus the Huron Mission was established, and for a decade the Recollets labored to develop it. In 1623, three priests were in Huronia, studying the language and baptizing a few converts. The field proved too vast for successful cultivation by the Recollets, however, and they reached the momentous determination to invite the more powerful Jesuits to share it with them.

On June 15, 1625 an advance party of three Jesuits and two lay brothers arrived at Quebec. One of the priests was Charles Lalemant, who became the superior of the Jesuits in Canada, and directed the establishment at Quebec of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, the home of the Order throughout the coming years.

Another was Jean de Brébeuf, a man of iron will and lionlike strength, who devoted the remainder of his life to Huronia and there won the crown of martyrdom. The English conquest of 1629 caused the withdrawal of all the priests from Canada, and for several years Huronia was without a missionary. In 1633 Champlain returned to Quebec accompanied by 200 colonists to begin the work of restoration of the colony. All of the colonists were Catholics, since Cardinal Richelieu, the actual ruler of France in this period, disgusted with the spectacle of Huguenot opposition to the king in France, had determined to remove this element of discord from New France by decreeing that in the future none but Catholics should be permitted to go there.

Included in Champlain's party were four Jesuit fathers, returning to the field of labor they had unwillingly vacated in 1629. Three of the four planned to go to Huronia, but not until the following year did they find it possible to do so. From 1634 to 1650 is the great period in the history of the Huron Mission. For some years the Fathers, joined by several additional priests and numerous lay brothers, labored to convert and civilize their charges. In 1640 Father Lalemant, the Jesuit Superior, decided to establish a fortified headquarters to serve as a safe retreat for the missionaries and their converts. It was built on the little river Wye near present-day Midland, Ontario, and was named Ste Marie, in honor of the mother of Christ. Here today a great Catholic church and religious shrine is maintained, which is visited annually by thousands of devotees.

For almost a decade Ste Marie was a flourishing religious and cultural center. With characteristic industry the Fathers brought blacksmiths, bakers, farmers, and other artisans to the place, and their labors not only supplied the needs of the Mission but served as an example to the natives of the arts of civilization. From Ste Marie the Fathers extended their labors to the tribes who were neighbors of the Huron. In 1641 Fathers Jogues and Raymbault journeyed to the outlet of Lake Superior, where they preached to 2,000 assembled savages, marking the first introduction of Christianity to Michigan. On this visit they named the rapids and the river in honor of their home mission, Ste Marie on the Wye. Thus our St. Mary's River and the rapids of Sault Ste Marie received the names which they have ever since retained.

Over Huronia and the Huron Mission, however, a dreadful fate impended. From a period which antedates the founding of Quebec a feud had existed between the Huron and the Five Nations of New York, and the latter habitually haunted the river by which the Huron came down to Quebec, to waylay and destroy them. As long as all the tribes were equipped only with their native Stone-Age weapons, this warfare was not one-sided, since a Huron warrior was as brave as his Iroquois foeman. In 1614, however, the Dutch founded New Amsterdam, and five years later, Albany. The Iroquois, living in close proximity to the Dutch, soon received from them iron axes, awls, traps, and other implements, whose possession enabled them to pass from the Stone to the Iron Age. Above all, they got from the Dutch guns and gunpowder, and equipped with these they began a series of murderous forays upon their westerly neighbors, which went on for many decades. Like a devouring conflagration the Iroquois war-parties swept over the western wilderness to the shores of Lake Superior and the banks of the Mississippi. Entire tribes were exterminated or driven into headlong flight beyond the range of their pursuers, leaving extensive regions vacant of human inhabitants. For many years the Iroquois, busy in other directions, left Huronia untouched, but this immunity was purely temporary. Near present-day Orillia in the southeastern part of Huronia, was the palisaded town of Contarea, numbering several hundred souls. Before it, on a morning in June, 1642, suddenly appeared an army of Iroquois who began an assault upon the town. They soon breached the walls and rushing within slaughtered the entire population, men, women, and children. Then, having set fire to the blood-spattered ruins, they melted once more into the surrounding forest.

Although the Iroquois continued to waylay parties of Huron and missionaries en route between Quebec and Huronia, six years passed before the invasion of the country in force was resumed. Meanwhile the normal life of the Huron went on, and the mission continued to prosper and develop. Ste Marie became an oasis of civilization in the western wilderness, the center of resort for thousands of savages who came to gaze upon the white man's wonders and to partake of his hospitality. Then, in 1648, the Iroquois returned to the attack and in two seasons the destruction of Huronia was accomplished. It was the Golgotha of a nation. On July 4, 1648 the town of St. Joseph was destroyed and its 2,000 inhabitants either slain or carried into captivity. Here Father Daniel became the first Catholic martyr of New France. Throughout the ensuing winter over a thousand Iroquois warriors remained on the upper Ottawa in readiness to resume their work of destruction in the spring. In March they fell upon St. Ignace and St. Louis, only a few miles distant from Ste Marie; the inhabitants of both towns were slain and Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were added to the fast-mounting roll of martyrs.

Following the destruction of St. Ignace and St. Louis the Iroquois withdrew for a time, but the work of destruction was continued by the Huron themselves. Despairing of further resistance, the survivors burned nearly a score of villages and scattered far and wide. Although Ste Marie itself had not been attacked, the fruits of a generation of missionary labor had been destroyed. Sadly the Fathers evacuated and burned their station, removing, with as much of their goods as could be transported, to the Christian Islands, which lie in Georgian Bay separated from the mainland by several miles of water. Here, in the summer of 1649, they built a second Ste Marie, fortified with walls of stone fourteen feet high, to provide a center of safety where the Huron survivors could rally and the work of the mission could be continued. Thousands of the natives soon assembled, while the Iroquois continued to ravage the mainland. Although the new Ste Marie provided a safe haven from Iroquois attack, pestilence and starvation soon beset the assembled natives. The spring of 1650 witnessed the end of the Huron Mission. Early in June the thirteen surviving Fathers abandoned Ste Marie and accompanied by their twoscore white followers and some three hundred Huron, set out for distant

Quebec, where the descendants of the Huron exiles still reside. Other fugitives scattered to the islands of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, while one important group of Indians fled westward along the southern shore of Lake Superior to its western end, where for twenty years they found an asylum in the wilds of northern Wisconsin. Their subsequent history, intimately associated with that of Michigan and Detroit, will be told in a later chapter.

The Huron Mission was the most promising the French ever succeeded in establishing in North America. Although it had now been destroyed, the influence it exerted upon the further development of the western country cannot be ignored. Huronia was the Jesuits' wilderness university. Here they learned the language and condition of life of the savages, and this hard-won knowledge was indispensable to their further advance over the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. Huronia was the stepping stone from Quebec to our own Northwest, and its tragic story is the prelude to the history of Michigan. Eventually the Jesuits fell upon evil days, both in Europe and America. Before doing so, they played a rôle as pathfinders of civilization in the western wilderness which can never be ignored. The story of their activities is inseparable from the early history of Michigan. In subsequent chapters we will frequently have occasion to take note of them.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 3

The primary source of information concerning the Jesuits in North America is the monumental *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* Here we may read the contemporary narratives of the activities of the Fathers as they were reported to their superiors from year to year and published by the latter in France for the inspiration of the faithful. Since the writers were educated men with highly trained minds, their observations upon the geography and *flora* and *fauna* of the country and upon the character and life of the savages are frequently of highest value.

Thomas G. Marquis, *The Jesuit Missions* (*The Chronicles of Canada* Series, Toronto, 1916); Landon, *Lake Huron,* chapter III; the monograph by Rev. Lewis Drummond in *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), volume II; and Kellogg, *French Régime in*

Wisconsin supply convenient secondary accounts of the activities of the Jesuits in New France and Huronia. Older, and eminently readable, is Francis Parkman's *The Jesuits in New France in the Seventeenth Century*. Father Arthur Jones, *Old Huronia* (5th annual report of Ontario Bureau of Archives, Toronto, 1908) is an exhaustive monograph identifying the sites of the villages and forts of Huronia. For the careers of individual Jesuits consult *Dictionary of American Biography* and Camille de Rochmonteix, *Les Jesuits et la Nouvelle-France au XVII Siècle . . .* (Paris, 1895-96, 3 volumes). On the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and their relations with the French see Arthur Pound, *Lake Ontario* (*The American Lakes Series,* Indianapolis, 1945), especially chapters II and III.

CHAPTER 4

The Conquest of the Inland Seas

The missionaries who fled eastward to Quebec in the summer of 1650, leaving in smoking ruins the material fruits of a lifetime of zealous endeavor, may well have seen in the destruction of Huronia the end of all their hopes for the future. Yet from present disaster future good is often won, and so it proved in this instance; the very havoc wrought by the Iroquois prepared the way for a new advance, opening one of the most glorious chapters in the history of world exploration. Its recital introduces us to the land of Michigan, and to the beginnings of civilization here.

The warfare waged by the Iroquois caused the depopulation of the two great peninsulas of southern Ontario and lower Michigan which surround Lake Huron. With the destruction of Huronia completed, the Iroquois turned upon the neighboring nation, which the French called the Neutrals. Their towns were burned and hundreds of the inhabitants were slaughtered; the survivors, like the Huron, were either incorporated into the conquering nation or were driven in headlong flight westward and northward beyond the reach of the Iroquois.

The effect produced by these raids on the tribes living in lower Michigan was no less marked. Forewarned by the fate of the tribes living in southern Ontario, they fled westward to Wisconsin where they sought new homes in the land anciently occupied by the Winnebago. Thus it came about that the dawn of our recorded history found lower Michigan almost completely depopulated, while the Potawatomi, Sauk, Foxes, and other tribes which had recently resided here were still in the act of developing new homes in the wilderness west of Lake Michigan.

Among these fugitives, their fate and location alike unknown to the Fathers at Quebec, were many of the natives to whom they had ministered in Huronia. For several years, French communication with the West was broken off. In 1653 a great Iroquois war party penetrated west of Lake Michigan, where, in a series of disasters, it met with almost complete destruction. A portion of the army was destroyed near Sault Ste Marie, and the name of Iroquois Point still preserves the memory of this affair. The disaster temporarily disposed the Iroquois to peace with the French and their Indian allies. In 1654, therefore, a great fleet of canoes from the West, richly laden with furs, ventured down the Ottawa to Montreal and Quebec. Their arrival proved a godsend to the colony, whose prosperity rose or fell with the fortunes of the fur trade. When these Ottawa canoes returned to the western country "two young Frenchmen full of courage" went with them.

One of the adventurers was Médart Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, one of the remarkable explorers of this adventurous era. Precisely when he migrated from Old to New France is uncertain, but it is known that he had spent several years in Huronia as an assistant of the Jesuits, and in view of his later career it is a plausible surmise that he did not neglect the opportunity thus afforded to explore the country adjacent to Lake Huron. In the autumn of 1653, he married at Three Rivers the widowed sister of Pierre Esprit, Sieur de Radisson. Although Radisson was still a mere youth, the new relationship prepared the way for one of the most fruitful exploring partnerships in the annals of New France.

In 1659-60 Groseilliers made a second voyage to the Lake Superior country and his associate on this expedition was his young brother-in-law, Radisson. After extensive wanderings in the western country the two men returned to Canada with valuable stores of furs and an even more valuable fund of geographical information, only to be assessed a ruinous fine by the Governor on the pretext that the journey had been undertaken without his permission. Their appeal to France for redress fell on deaf ears, and angered over the injustice of this treatment, they proceeded to offer their services and their knowledge of the interior of North America to the English. Restoration England was just entering upon a period of great commercial and colonial expansion, and the story the two adventurers brought of the immense wealth in furs to be had from the red men fell on eager ears. Under the patronage of King Charles II himself Radisson and Groseilliers were instrumental in founding the great Hudson's Bay Company, now one of the oldest corporations in the world and long the greatest fur company of all time.

Thus it came about that Radisson wrote out in a foreign land and language, years after the occurrence of the events described, the story of the adventures of himself and Groseilliers in the Northwest. His manuscript came into the possession of the immortal diarist, Samuel Pepys, and from him, by a series of curious mischances, passed to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where it is still preserved. Although it affords internal evidence of being (with certain notable exceptions) a sober and truthful narrative, its English is so curious and its statements concerning dates and essential geographical details so indefinite that its correct interpretation long challenged the world of scholarship. Here it is sufficient to note that while there can be no room for doubt that the adventurers traversed the southern shore of Lake Superior and much of the country adjoining this lake, efforts to supply an exact itinerary of their travels remain unconvincing.

One incidental result of Groseilliers' first expedition, however, is entirely clear. He visited the fugitive Huron and other bands from Ontario who had fled before the Iroquois to northern Wisconsin, and on his return to Quebec in 1656 he told the Fathers of the contact he had made with them. When the Ottawa trading fleet returned to the West, two Jesuits and many traders set out with it. En route the fleet was waylaid by the

Iroquois; one of the Fathers was killed, and the fleeing Ottawa abandoned the other priest, who was compelled to return to Quebec. Several more years passed, and in 1660 Groseilliers and Radisson returned to Canada from their sojourn in the Lake Superior country, attended by sixty canoes. Again two Jesuits were chosen to accompany the Indians to their homeland, but one was prevented from going and Father Réné Ménard thus became the first Jesuit to return to the upper country since the flight from Huronia a decade before.

Although Father Ménard was only fifty-five years of age in the summer of 1660, his body was broken by years of wilderness service in Huronia and among the Iroquois. Yet he accepted his new assignment eagerly, fully expecting never to return from it. "In three or four months," he wrote to a friend on the eve of his departure, "you may include me in the Memento for the dead, in view of the kind of life led by those people, of my age, and of my delicate constitution." [1] Judged by ordinary standards of human prudence, the unwisdom of sending him on such a journey seems clear; but to judge thus would be completely to misapprehend the spirit which animated the Jesuit missionaries. "Every reason seems to retain you here" said the Bishop of Quebec, whom Ménard chanced to meet on his passage up the St. Lawrence; "but God, more powerful than aught else, requires you yonder."

Animated by such a spirit the feeble priest set forth from Montreal in the summer of 1660, and in mid-October arrived at Keweenaw Bay on Lake Superior. The journey thus far, he wrote, had been one of great danger—"from the lakes, which were very stormy; from the torrents and waterfalls, fearful to behold, which we were forced to cross in a frail shell; from hunger, which was our almost constant companion; and from the Iroquois who made war upon us." At Keweenaw some of the savages stopped for the winter, and Ménard was compelled to remain with them. The chief, Le Brochet, led a life of savage depravity, and when the Father had the temerity to rebuke him for his sins, he responded by turning Ménard out of his hut in the midst of the Upper Peninsula winter. Fortunately the weather proved unusually mild, and the missionary succeeded in keeping himself alive in a shelter he built of fir branches until March, when some traders rescued him and took him on to Chequamegon with them. Here he found a large number of natives assembled, and his religious instructions were resumed with much zeal and some apparent success.

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[1] The missionary labors of Father Ménard are narrated in *Jesuit Relations*, especially XLVIII.

But he had come to seek the lost converts, who were living inland at Lac Court Oreilles, and when a Huron came to Chequamegon late in May with the news that his people were dying of famine, Ménard insisted on going to baptize as many of them as he could before death should overtake them. To the representations which the traders made of the hardships he must encounter, he calmly replied: "God calls me thither, and I must go, though it should cost me my life. Here is the fairest opportunity to show angels and men that I love my Creator more than the life which I hold at his hands, and would you have me let it slip by?" With a single French companion he set out on July 13 in company with some Huron who had come to Chequamegon to trade, and who offered to escort him on their return. On the journey, however, they abandoned him, and a few days later, at one of the many portages, Ménard became separated from his younger companion and was never seen again. The forest had swallowed the man who first carried the gospel west of the Sault, and who, in doing so, won the wilderness death he craved as the fitting crown of his religious career.

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Although the worker may fall, the work goes on. As soon as the news of Father Ménard's death was carried to Canada a successor stepped forward in the person of Father Claude Allouez. He was in the prime of his manhood and well equipped for the difficult work before him. To him above all others belongs the credit for introducing Christianity to the savages of the Northwest, and to this work he devoted almost a quarter of a century of unceasing effort.

Not until 1665 did he find it possible to join the annual Ottawa trading fleet for the journey to distant Lake Superior. After a voyage of great hardships, he reached Chequamegon Bay on October 1, 1665. He found the Huron and Ottawa villages, numbering several hundred souls, situated around the Bay and the place, in addition, was a cross-roads of travel, frequented by tribes from north of Lake Superior as well as from the forests of Wisconsin and the prairies of Iowa and Illinois. Chequamegon was an excellent site, therefore, for the mission which Allouez proceeded to establish, and which he named, after a long and narrow sand spit jutting out into the lake, *La Pointe du Saint Esprit.* The passage of time has long since consigned to oblivion alike the missionary, and his red charges; yet the name of La Pointe still persists, the oldest conferred by the white man in the State of Wisconsin.

For several years Allouez labored at Chequamegon with but indifferent religious success, but with important consequences for the history of Michigan. His reports induced the Jesuit Superior at Quebec to enlarge the Ottawa Mission, and a second priest was sent to reinforce him at Chequamegon. In 1668 Father Jacques Marquette was sent to take station at the Sault, and the next year Father Claude Dablon was sent out as superior of the Ottawa Mission, with his headquarters at the same place.

This same year Marquette was sent to Chequamegon to relieve Allouez, who now transferred his activities to the tribes clustered around Green Bay and along Fox River. While at La Pointe, Allouez had listened eagerly to Indian reports concerning the Great River of the West, which he conjectured emptied into the sea "somewhere near Virginia." At the Fox River villages he was told that in six days one might journey to this river, which the natives called "Messi-Sipi." This information, which Allouez carried straightway to Quebec, was further enlarged when he returned to Green Bay in 1670, accompanied this time by Father Dablon. At the Mascoutin village they learned that the Mississippi flowed southward into a sea "which we judge to be either the Vermillion Sea or that of Florida." The former was the Gulf of California, the latter the Gulf of Mexico. It only remained, therefore, for Jolliet and Marquette to verify, three years later, this information, and to solve the important question which of the two seas received the Father of Waters.

After the death of Marquette (whose further career we will presently note), Alloucz succeeded him in the Illinois Mission, and still later he labored among the Miami and Potawatomi of the St. Joseph Valley in southwestern Michigan. Here he died in harness in August, 1689, and somewhere in the outskirts of present-day Niles his dust reposes. He had given almost a quarter-century of his life to the service of God and civilization in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, working among conditions of danger and deprivation difficult for us today to imagine. He played a greater rôle in our early history than posterity has thus far realized and he merits a larger degree of recognition than it has accorded him.[2]

Before continuing the story of French activities in the Northwest, we must pause to take note of certain developments in France and lower Canada. In 1661 Cardinal Mazarin, who, as prime minister since the death of Richelieu, had been the virtual ruler of France, died, and Louis XIV thereupon began the period of personal rule which lasted until his death in 1715. He soon became the most powerful monarch in Christendom and by his conduct made himself the pattern of absolute ruler for all later imitators to emulate. For a generation affairs had not been going well in New France, and the colony was practically at a standstill. Numerous complaints were carried to the young monarch in France, who, in 1663, responded by annulling the charter which Richelieu had granted the Great Company of Canada almost forty years before and by making New France a royal colony under his own immediate rule.

A program of economic and governmental reorganization followed, so thoroughgoing as to constitute a virtual rebirth of

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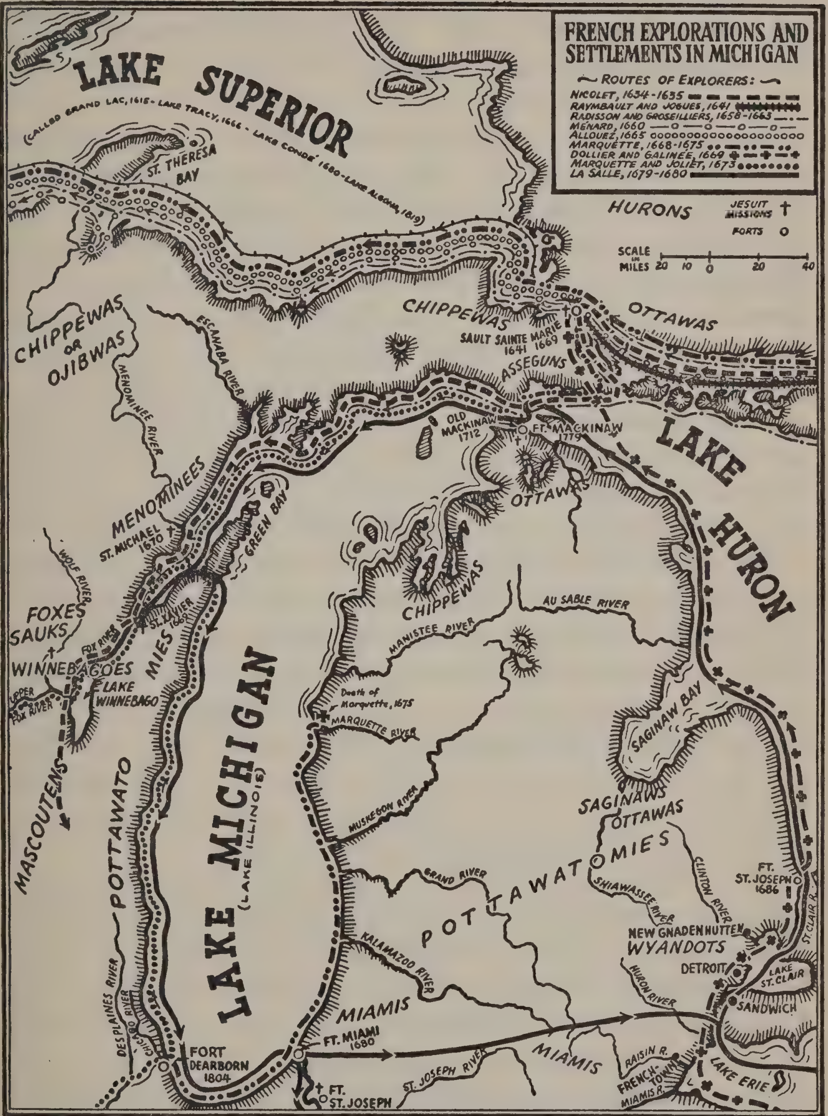
[2] A cross, from time to time renewed, still marks the traditional site of his grave at Niles, while a township in Michigan and another in Wisconsin bears his name; by contrast, cities, counties, rivers, numerous monuments, a railroad, and a great university have been named in memory of Marquette, whose missionary services were many times exceeded by those of Allouez.

New France. The office of intendant was created, and Jean Talon, the first incumbent, was the ablest public official New France ever possessed. To chastise the Iroquois, who for half a century had harassed the colony, a splendid regiment of soldiers, 1,200 strong, was sent over, and the ancient enemy was swiftly induced to beg for peace. This truce lasted a decade and a half, affording opportunity for the golden age of French expansion in America.

Both Talon and Count Frontenac, who came out as governor in 1672, were ardent empire-builders who actively promoted the westward expansion of the colony. In response to reports which Father Allouez had made concerning the Upper Peninsula copper deposits, Talon sent out Jean Péré to exploit them in 1668. The following year the Intendant sent out a supporting expedition, led by Louis Jolliet. Until now, the hostile Iroquois had kept the Lower Lakes closed to the French, who continued to travel to the Upper Lakes by way of the Ottawa River route which Champlain had followed in 1615. With peace established, the French were quick to turn to the more natural route up the St. Lawrence and thence through Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. At the Sault, Jolliet rescued an Iroquois prisoner who offered to guide him homeward by the more direct route of the Lower Lakes. So, in the summer of 1669, Jolliet traveled down the eastern coast of Michigan to Lake Erie and along the northern shore of the latter until he neared its eastern end. Here his guide conducted him overland to the western end of Lake Ontario (thereby diverting from him the honor of becoming the discoverer of Niagara) and so on to Canada.

Somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Hamilton, Jolliet encountered a party of Frenchmen westward bound. One of its members was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, who was to become the most noted explorer of his time; the others were François Dollier de Casson, and René de Bréhaut de Galinée, Sulpitian Fathers from Montreal, who were seeking a field of missionary endeavor in the western country. Undoubtedly the Fathers listened eagerly to Jolliet's story of his travels before



From Michigan History Wall Maps, A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

they continued their westward journey. The travelers passed the winter of 1669-70 in a cabin whose site may still be seen near present-day Port Dover, and in the spring resumed their journey to the Sault and Green Bay, returning to Canada by the Ottawa River route to Montreal.

By 1670, therefore, Frenchmen had traversed the northern coasts of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, the western coast of Lake Huron and the entire southern coast of Lake Superior; they had familiarized themselves with the northern portion of Lake Michigan and, of course, the eastern coast of Lake Huron.[3] To consolidate the fruits of all this enterprise, it only remained to take formal possession of the country in the name of the Grand Monarch of France. To impress the simple-minded natives with the significance of the change about to take place, plans were laid in the summer of 1670 for staging an impressive ceremony at Sault Ste Marie the following spring, which the tribesmen of the Upper Country should be invited to witness.

The man selected to represent the French king in this enterprise was Simon François Daumont, who is better known by his title of Sieur de St. Lusson. He left Quebec in the autumn of 1670 and journeyed in leisurely fashion as far as the Manitoulin Islands, where he halted for the winter, resuming the journey to the Sault in the ensuing spring. Meanwhile, word had been sent to the natives for a hundred leagues around concerning the impending ceremony, accompanied by urgent invitations for them to attend at the appointed time and place.

In all, 2,000 savages representing fourteen different nations gathered at the Sault in early June to learn the will of their Great Father. The spot selected for the ceremony was a height overlooking the Chippewa village. A great wooden cross had been prepared, and after being publicly blessed it was solemnly planted in the ground while the Frenchmen present chanted the *Vexilla*. Then the escutcheon of France, affixed to a cedar pole, was raised above the cross, to the accompaniment of another chant and the offering of a prayer for the King. St. Lusson now stepped to the front and amid discharges of musketry and repeated shouts of "Long live the King" held aloft a piece of sod, while he formally claimed on behalf of his monarch dominion over Lakes Huron and Superior and all the vast region stretching to the Arctic Ocean on one side and to the Pacific on the other.

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[3] These statements are not exhaustive of the knowledge that had been gained. The great Jesuit map of Lake Superior, published in 1672, was not materially improved upon until the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

An oration by Father Allouez followed, calculated to convey to the savages a sense of the power and majesty of the King of France. "When he says, 'I am going to war,' " shouted the orator, "all obey him; and those ten thousand captains raise companies of a hundred soldiers each, both on sea and on land. . . . When he attacks, he is more terrible than the thunder; the earth trembles, the air and the sea are set on fire by the discharges of his cannon; while he has been seen amid his squadrons all covered with the blood of his foes, of whom he has slain so many with his sword that he does not count their scalps, but the rivers of blood which he sets flowing." All this and much more the Good Father recited in terms that are curiously familiar today, to the manifest wonderment of his auditors, "who were all astonished to hear that there was any man on earth so great, rich, and powerful." [4]

Thus on June 14, 1671, on the pine-girt hill overlooking the foaming waters of the Sault, did Michigan pass under the dominion of the king of France. For the red men the Pageant of the Sault, as it has ever since been called, presented an exciting show; they had, of course, no faint conception that in witnessing it they had lost their homes, their freedom, and the title to the land of their nativity. For the French, the ceremonial act of taking possession of the country set a pattern initiated at the Sault which was adhered to on many later occasions.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 4

For the activities of the Jesuits in the Upper Country, the primary source of information continues to be the *Jesuit Relations*. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin* presents a detailed and scholarly secondary narrative of the period covered in this chapter; and the same author's compilation of *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699* (New York, 1917) assembles in convenient form in English translation many of the more important original sources for the period. The principal primary source of information for the expeditions of Groseilliers and Radisson in the Northwest is contained in the journals of the latter, first published by the Prince Society of Boston in 1885. An extensive body of secondary discussion, frequently contradictory and sharply argumentative, has since developed. Much of this may be found in the several publications of the Wisconsin and the Minnesota Historical Societies. The many earlier discussions by scholars of the activities of the two explorers were rendered obsolete when Grace L. Nute published her authoritative study in 1943 entitled *Caesars of the Wilderness.* The official report of the Pageant of the Sault is published in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* volume XI. The Jesuit account, dealing particularly with Father Allouez' oration, is in the *Jesuit Relations,* volume LV. Still a third contemporary report by the trader, Nicolas Perrot, is printed in English translation in Emma H. Blair (editor), *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes Region* (Cleveland, 1911).

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[4] For Father Allouez' oration see *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 109-113.

CHAPTER 5

The Conquest of the Great Valley

Although Michigan lies almost wholly in the St. Lawrence Valley the ties which unite it with the Mississippi Valley are so strong and numerous that the story of how the Great River was added to the dominion of France is an integral part of the history of our own Commonwealth. In line with the aggressive policy which now animated the leaders of New France, the search for the Mississippi followed hard upon the formal annexation of the Great Lakes which was enacted at the Pageant of the Sault. That such a river existed there could be no room for doubt, but the question whether it found outlet in the western ocean or in the Gulf of Mexico afforded room for lively speculation, and if the former should prove to be the case, the coveted water route to the Indies would lie open to the merchants of France.

Among the actors at the Pageant of the Sault was one of the most promising young Frenchmen of his time, Louis Jolliet. Born at Quebec in 1645, for a time in his youth he had studied to become a Jesuit, but from this career he had turned aside to devote himself to secular pursuits. Like all enterprising youths of New France, the wilderness held for him an irresistible fascination and in the spring of 1669, when not yet twenty-four years old, he had led that expedition to the Sault which has been noted in an earlier chapter. Although he did not find the copper deposits on this expedition, he brilliantly discharged a second object of his mission, which was to discover an easier route than the ordinary one between Lake Superior and Montreal. When he was returning to Canada, therefore, he turned southward through the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers to Lake Erie. Thus, while still hardly more than a youth, he had traced the shore line of two of the Great Lakes, and had disclosed to the French the direct route by way of the lakes from lower Canada to Lake Superior and the West.

Such an achievement made Jolliet the obvious choice as leader of the expedition to go in search of the Mississippi. To accompany him, Father Dablon named Father Jacques Marquette, who had replaced Allouez at Chequamegon in 1669. Marquette was born at Laon, France, in 1637, and from childhood had yearned to go to the Orient as a missionary. Fate and his superiors determined otherwise, however, and in 1666 he had been sent out to Canada. Here, after two years of further preparation he was sent to the Sault to reinforce Father Allouez on the Ottawa Mission. Contrary to popular belief, Marquette possessed a robust body and sound health, and although a man of gentle ways, he was resolute and aggressive in the work of advancing the gospel.[1] At Chequamegon, Marquette, like Allouez, had become acquainted with the Illinois and had conceived an ardent desire to proclaim the Gospel in their villages. Accordingly he had begun to prepare himself for such a mission. In particular, he studied the language of the Illinois, having for instructor a youth of the tribe who had been enslaved by the Ottawa, and who had been given by them to Marquette. In his journal,[2] kept at Chequamegon, Marquette carefully noted all he could hear about the Illinois country. Among other things he records that when the Illinois came to Chequamegon "they cross a great river which is nearly a league in width, flows from north to south, and to such a distance that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not yet heard any mention of its mouth. . . . It is hard to believe that that great river discharges its waters in Virginia, and we think rather that it has its mouth in California."

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[1] See "Some Hitherto Unpublished Marquettiana," a collection of contemporary letters by, and about Marquette, published by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan in *Mid-America,* XVIII, 15-27.

[2] Printed in *Jesuit Relations,* LV, 169-194.

Marquette was planning to go with his Indian slave and another Frenchman to explore the river when his project was rudely interrupted. His charges at Chequamegon became involved in a war with the Sioux, and, in 1671, fled precipitately eastward to escape their avenging wrath. The Huron found refuge on Mackinac Island, to which place Marquette accompanied them. Before long he crossed to the northern mainland and there established the mission of St. Ignace on the site of the present-day city of this name. Ever since his arrival at Chequamegon he had not ceased to invoke the Blessed Virgin for permission to visit the nations of the Mississippi. It must have seemed a direct answer to his prayers, therefore, when in early December, 1672, a canoe from the eastward arrived at St. Ignace bringing Louis Jolliet with the exciting news that he had been commissioned to go in search of the Mississippi and that he bore the permission of Father Dablon for Marquette to accompany him on the journey.

Winter was now at hand and the departure from St. Ignace could not be made until the ensuing spring. The material equipment of the two explorers for the voyage was but slight, but the personnel of the party was well-nigh perfect. Jolliet, the leader, had already proved his capacity to undertake long voyages into the wilderness, and Marquette had assiduously mastered all that could be learned concerning the country and the language of the Illinois. The winter at St. Ignace was devoted to final preparations. The savages who had been westward were quizzed anew for data concerning the region to be visited, and in the light of all the information available a tentative map of the country was drawn. Thus equipped, the two men set forth in May, 1673, in two bark canoes, with five French *voyageurs* and a little smoked meat and Indian corn on a voyage "whose duration they could not foresee."

The story of the great exploration has been related many times. From St. Ignace the explorers crossed Lake Michigan to Green Bay and ascended Fox River to the great Mascouten village which marked the westward limit of French exploration. Here two Miami guides were secured who conducted them to the portage, where the broad-flowing Wisconsin is separated from the winding Fox by a distance of only a mile and a half. "Thus we left the waters flowing to Quebec four or five hundred leagues from here," wrote Marquette, "to float on those that would thenceforward take us through strange lands." On June 17 the two canoes reached the Mississippi, and the sight of the stream, a mile wide and flowing between walls of towering cliffs, moved them to feelings of rapture. Down it they paddled for more than a week without seeing any sign of human habitation; then on the western bank they found a path, which they followed to an Illinois village. "How beautiful is the sun, Oh Frenchmen," exclaimed the leader of the natives, "when thou comest to visit us." They were hospitably entertained, and it was highly fitting that the ensuing feast, the first one recorded in the history of the State of Iowa, should begin with a platter of corn meal mush.

Before leaving the Illinois, Marquette promised to return to them the following year. The steady southward trend of the river at length convinced the explorers that its course was to the Gulf of Mexico, but the entrance of the Missouri coming from the northwest induced the hope that by it the way to the California Sea might be found, and Marquette conceived the design of some day exploring it. Near the mouth of the Arkansas River, the natives reported that the sea was but ten days' journey ahead, and that along the way lived nations who were in contact with white men. Fearing to fall into the hands of the Spaniards if they continued, and feeling that they had already determined the great question concerning the river's outlet, the explorers now turned back. On arriving at the mouth of the Illinois they ascended that stream to the Chicago and followed the western shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, where the expedition was concluded. In four months' time they had traveled 3,000 miles without incurring accident or loss, and had brought the greatest river and the richest wilderness in the world within the ken of civilized man.

Marquette remained at the Jesuit station at Green Bay, while Jolliet returned to Canada to carry to the Governor the news of his great discovery. In the Lachine Rapids, almost within sight of Montreal, his canoe was overturned and some of his men and all of his records were lost. The tragedy marks the untimely end of a brilliant career. The man who, before the age of thirty, added to the map the Detroit, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Mississippi Rivers, as well as the sites of the future cities of Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Chicago, was never again permitted to visit the West; the exploration of the country to which he led the way fell to the lot of others.

To Father Marquette was reserved a happier fate. In fulfillment of his promise he made a second journey to Illinois in the autumn of 1674, and being overtaken by winter and illness at Chicago he became the first white dweller on the site of the present great city. In the spring of 1675, he went on to the Illinois villages to preach, but, with the hand of death upon him, he soon set out on his return to St. Ignace. Proceeding down the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, he had reached the river mouth at Ludington when death overtook him. His missionary service was comparatively brief—less than a decade. In the eyes of posterity his name is chiefly associated with the discovery of the Mississippi. Upon both contemporaries and posterity he cast the spell of a personal charm whose secret no man can explain. In life he realized the two ambitions he chiefly craved; to lead the way for his fellows to the nations of the Mississippi, and to meet death in the wilderness. In death he achieved a fame which after the lapse of almost three centuries still continues to wax.

The logical complement of the discovery of the Mississippi was the extension of French dominion over it. The story of this enterprise centers about the characters of Count Frontenac, able Governor of New France, and his energetic, visionary protégé, La Salle. Born at Rouen in 1643, in early manhood La

Salle had come out to Montreal, where his elder brother was a Sulpitian priest. By reason of this connection the newcomer secured a grant of land on the river above the city and began the development of a feudal estate. But the great river sweeping past his door beckoned him irresistibly to the interior, and before long he embarked upon a career of western exploration which was to win for him undying fame. Although Jolliet's brilliant record would seem to have made him the logical leader in any further work of exploration, his association with the Jesuits was too intimate to suit the Governor's purpose, and to La Salle, instead, went the coveted opportunity.[3] After several years of preparation,[4] in the summer of 1679 he launched his first expedition into the West, intent upon establishing a colony in the Illinois country which should serve as the western base of his operations. It initiated one of the most momentous developments in American history. The noblest river valley in the world still lay vacant, inviting European exploitation, and a finger's weight on the unrolling scroll of history might determine whether it should become the seat of a Spanish, a French, or an English civilization.

In the river above the Falls of Niagara La Salle built a small sailing vessel, the *Griffon,*[5] for traversing the vast extent of the Upper Lakes, and, in August, he set sail for Mackinac and Lake Michigan. With him, as religious companion, was Father Louis Hennepin, a garrulous adventurer who had come out to

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[3] It should be noted in this connection that Frontenac and La Salle were bent upon the commercial exploitation of the West, even more, perhaps, than upon exploration. From this point of view, also, La Salle may have seemed to Frontenac a more promising agent than Jolliet.

[4] This included the establishment of Fort Frontenac on the site of present-day Kingston, and the construction of several small sailing vessels for use on Lake Ontario.

[5] The griffin (spelled "griffon" in French, and both "griffin" and "griffon" in English) was a fabulous monster, half lion, half eagle, used as a decorative type in Greek and Roman art. Father Hennepin, who was present during the construction of the ship, relates that she was named in honor of the Arms of Count Frontenac, which had two griffins for supporters. A recent scholar has noted that La Salle himself nowhere mentions the name of the ship and has raised the question whether the *Griffon* is one of Hennepin's fictional inventions. However this may be, many writers subsequent to Hennepin have employed the spelling *Griffin,* while others adhere to the French (and variant English) spelling of *Griffon.*

Canada in 1675, and in 1678 had been appointed by La Salle as religious mentor at Fort Frontenac. With him, also, was Henry de Tonty, an Italian soldier of fortune, whose qualities of quiet courage and unwavering loyalty still project their fragrance across the intervening centuries. Both the boastful prior and the quiet soldier were to leave their permanent mark upon the history of their time.

Although La Salle had set out for the Illinois country, by the time the *Griffon* reached the Detroit,[6] Hennepin had become so entranced with the scenery that his desire to remain here permanently overcame his passion for making new discoveries. He undoubtedly deserves to rank as Michigan's original booster, and through his eyes we may view the land which we now inhabit as it was in its primitive grandeur.[7]

"The country," Hennepin writes, "between those two Lakes, from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, is very well situated and the soil very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vast Meadows, and the Prospect is terminated with some Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing good Fruit, groves and Forests, so well-dispos'd that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, so charming a prospect. The Country is stock'd with Stags, Wild Goats, and Bears, which are good for Foods, and not fierce as in other Countries . . . Turkey-Cocks and Swans are there also very common; and our Men brought several other Beasts and Birds, whose Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary relishing.

"The Forests are chiefly made up of Walnut-trees, Chestnut-trees, Plum-trees, and Pear-trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is also abundance of Timber fit for Building; so that those who shall be so happy as to inhabit that Noble Country cannot but remember with Gratitude those who have discovered the way thither."

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[6] The French called the entire waterway connecting Lake Huron with Lake Erie *le Detroit,* which meant the Narrows, or the Strait. When Cadillac founded Detroit, he named it Fort Pontchartrain, and it was frequently alluded to as Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, or Fort Pontchartrain on the Strait. Ultimately the name of the city was shortened to Detroit, the portion of the Strait above Lake St. Clair became St. Clair River, and the portion below Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River. Whether the original French name or the modern substitutes for it best describe the waterway to which they have been applied is a question which has long since become merely academic.

[7] Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane,* Paris. 1683.

But even this primeval paradise had its drawbacks, as the travelers quickly learned. Somewhere near Thunder Bay a violent storm was encountered and with furled sails the *Griffon* drifted at the mercy of the gale. All on board abandoned themselves for lost, and with sudden access of religion all but the pilot took to their prayers in preparation for death. During all the confusion the pilot "did nothing but curse and swear" at La Salle for bringing him, a salt-water navigator, to perish in this "nasty Lake." Happily the *Griffon* outrode the storm, but a few weeks later, returning from Green Bay to Niagara, vessel and pilot vanished forever from mortal ken.

From Green Bay, La Salle passed down the western shore of Lake Michigan and around its southern end to the mouth of the St. Joseph, where he tarried to build, on a bluff overlooking the lake, a log fort which he named Fort Miami. He then ascended the St. Joseph to the vicinity of South Bend, crossed to the headwaters of the Kankakee, and descended that stream and the Illinois to Lake Peoria. Here he unfolded to the natives his design of building a fort in their midst, and a "great wooden Canoe," which would go down to the sea and return thence with the goods they so much desired. The fort, built in the early winter of 1680, was the first civilized habitation of permanent character in the modern State of Illinois. The loss of the *Griffon* imposed upon La Salle the necessity of returning to distant Fort Frontenac for supplies, and in March, 1680, he began this formidable journey, crossing on foot the trackless waste of southern Michigan in the season of spring floods.

La Salle had thus effected a lodgment in the heart of the Mississippi Valley, and had initiated the work of carving out what was to become the imperial domain of Louisiana. But the major portion of that work lay yet before him, and in its prosecution he was to encounter repeated difficulties and at the end a tragic death. Into his story we shall not go, further than to trace its bearing upon our own future state of Michigan. Although Fort Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph was soon abandoned, a new establishment was presently begun farther up the river near modern Niles, and this place, known as St. Joseph, became one of the permanent centers of French authority in the Northwest.[8]

The activities of Jolliet, La Salle, and others in the quarter-century which began with the year 1660 brought modern Michigan definitely within the ken of civilization. Its entire coast line was explored, its southern mainland traversed, and trading or missionary establishments were made at such strategic points as St. Joseph, Sault Ste Marie, Mackinac, and Chequamegon. The Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley had been added to the domain of France, and the way had been prepared for the warfare with England which was ultimately to result in driving France from the continent of North America.

In 1682 Governor Frontenac was recalled to France and his successors proved wholly unable to cope with the Iroquois, who resented the extension of French influence over the tribes of the Northwest. Accordingly, the peace which had continued since 1667 was now interrupted, and within half a dozen years New France was brought to the verge of utter ruin. In 1689 Count Frontenac was restored to the governorship, as the only man capable of saving the colony from destruction. The year before this, William of Orange, implacable foe of Louis XIV, replaced James II as King of England, and brought that country into the continental alliance against France. Therewith, the war of New France with the Iroquois became merged with the first of the series of wars with the English colonies, which lasted from 1689 to 1696.

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[8] Here Father Allouez spent his closing years, and here died in 1689. Here for many years, as boy and man lived Joseph Coulon de Villiers, whom George Washington "assassinated" in 1754, and the brother, Louis, who enjoys the distinction of being the only soldier in history who ever compelled Washington to surrender. Here the Iroquois raided in 1694. Here successively floated French, British, and Spanish flags. Here occurred activities associated with the Pontiac War of 1763, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. In 1925, Rev. George Paré found at Quebec the surviving fragment of the St. Joseph Baptismal Register, which sheds a flood of light on the life of the ancient fort in the years from 1720 to 1773, printed in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 201-239.

The war in Europe proved indecisive, but in North America it was attended by developments which were of vital import to Michigan and the Northwest. Both French and English perceived the strategic importance of the "Strait," which connects Lake Huron with Lake Erie, and, in 1686, Duluth, one of the ablest Frenchmen of his time, was sent with a garrison to fortify it. At Port Huron, almost beneath the girders of the present Blue Water Bridge, he built Fort St. Joseph.[9] In 1688 it was abandoned, but its brief existence marks the first civilized occupation of the "Strait." Its permanent occupation a decade and a half later will command our attention in the following chapter.

Before the combined onslaught of English armies and Iroquois war parties, New France seemed doomed to destruction. Year after year, however, Count Frontenac grimly defended the colony. The western Indians rallied to his call at such points of rendezvous as Mackinac and Fort St. Joseph, thence to journey eastward to the Iroquois country. The Iroquois towns were repeatedly ravaged and one-half of all their warriors were slain, while in Canada every village and almost every farmhouse became a fort, whose inmates must maintain constant watch as the price of continued existence.

Both in Europe and America the war ended in a drawn conflict. Count Frontenac had preserved intact the fortress which was New France in these years, but before he died the colony received a deadlier blow from his own countrymen than any the Iroquois or the English had dealt. Both Intendant Talon and Frontenac were ardent expansionists, under whose fostering care New France had experienced a remarkable development. But there was a formidable opposition party in the colony which derided the work of Frontenac and viewed the westward extension of the colony as an unmixed evil. The most powerful element in this anti-imperialist party was the Jesuit Order. Intent on winning souls for the other world, it resented the debauchery of the Indians which contact with the whites entailed, and sought to prevent the latter from visiting the western country.

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[9] Not to be confused with Fort St. Joseph near Niles, or with nineteenth-century Fort St. Joseph on St. Joseph Island in Lake Huron.

Although for many years Louis XIV upheld his secular officials in Canada, advancing years and increasing response to his religious advisers eventually brought him around to the Jesuit point of view, and on April 25, 1696 he issued a royal decree commanding all Frenchmen save the Fathers to withdraw from the Upper Country. Although the *coureurs de bois,* or illicit traders, snapped their fingers at the order, the French officials were compelled, however reluctantly, to obey it. The lilies of France were hauled down at the interior forts, whose garrisons sadly withdrew to lower Canada. The sole exception to the sweeping order was made in the case of La Salle's Fort St. Louis, where Tonty was permitted to remain, although his trading operations were severely restricted.

The victory of the anti-imperialists, registered in the royal decree of April 25, 1696, rang down the curtain on a glorious epoch of human achievement. Never was a monarch served by a more brilliant group of men than the able adventurers who, under the patronage of Talon and Frontenac, in the decades following 1665, pushed the borders of New France from the lower St. Lawrence to the icy wastes of Hudson Bay and the alligator-infested marshes of the Gulf Coast. The triumph of the anti-imperialists proved as brief as it was shortsighted. It directly paved the way for the reoccupation of the West, beginning at Detroit in 1701.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 5

For the journals of Allouez, Marquette, and other Jesuits consult the *Jesuit Relations.* The journal of Galinée describing the western expedition of 1669-70 is printed in Kellogg (editor) *Early Narratives of the Northwest.* Several contemporary narratives were written by the associates of La Salle. His own letters and memorials to the Court are found in the collection of documents assembled by Pierre Margry, *Documents et établissements des françois dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1876-86, 6 volumes). Father Hennepin's narrative has been published in numerous editions and in several languages, beginning with his *Description de la Louisiane,* published at Paris in 1683. A witty and popular contemporary narrative of the period is Baron Lahontan's *New Voyages to North America,* many times reprinted, and perhaps most conveniently consulted in the edition edited by R. G. Thwaites (Chicago, 1905, 2 volumes). The classic secondary account of the activities of the French in North America is found in the works of Francis Parkman. Practically all middle-western state and local histories deal more or less adequately with the activities of Marquette, La Salle, and other French explorers of the period. Among the more scholarly of these local works are C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, Ill., 1920); Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin;* and Quaife, *Lake Michigan.* There are numerous biographies of La Salle, who remains in death, as he was in life, a sharply provocative character. The standard biography, mainly laudatory, is Francis Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.* Catholic writers commonly depict him in less favorable terms.

CHAPTER 6

The Birth of Detroit

As Paris draws to herself the life of all France, so, for almost a century and a half, the life of Michigan, centered in Detroit, whose founding constitutes a chapter unique in American history. Like Washington, Detroit is a city made to order, its birth decreed and its location determined by forces continental in scope and international in significance. From before its birth Detroit was destined to be a city of outstanding commercial and political importance, and however scant the population or rude the material surroundings, from its earliest infancy the city was a center of affairs, the home of talented men and of charming, cultivated women.

Among the brilliant young Frenchmen whom Count Frontenac drew into his service was Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. A soldier by profession, he first came to Canada about the year 1683. Four years later he married Marie Thérèse Guyon of Quebec, and began the rearing of a numerous family. In the desperate struggle to preserve Canada from destruction which soon followed, Cadillac won the confidence of Frontenac, who, in 1694, placed him in charge of Michilimackinac,[1] the most important post in the western country. His three-year sojourn here afforded him ample opportunity to master the geography and the problems of the Upper Country, and to the consideration of both he brought the genius of a brilliant and resourceful personality. He shared to the full Frontenac's views of the Jesuits and of the imperial destiny of New France, and he regarded the Evacuation Decree of 1696 as an utterly ruinous measure. Instead of enduring it in silence, in 1699 he crossed the ocean to acquaint the Ministry with his views of the correct policy to pursue in America.

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[1] On the north-shore site of St. Ignace.

At every point his ideas were antipathetic to the Jesuit program, and in certain important respects they were far in advance of the age. Instead of keeping the savages a race apart, visited only by the missionaries, Cadillac proposed to establish a thriving colony in the heart of the Upper Country. Around it he would gather all the tribes which would consent to remove thither, where, from daily contact and observation they might gradually master the French culture and way of life. Thus Cadillac anticipated by almost two hundred years the modern social settlement idea of the way to elevate a backward people, and before the year 1700 he laid down a policy with respect to the Indians which the United States Government is now slowly adopting.

With the assurance of a statesman, Cadillac pointed out that unless the French should reoccupy the Upper Country and supply the natives with needed leadership and the white man's goods, the English would inevitably do so. Already the stage was being set for the War of the Spanish Succession, and Cadillac's argument that by occupying three strategic centers the entire West could be controlled and the English shut out, fell on attentive ears. The three centers he named were *le Detroit,* or the Strait between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, the mouth of the Mississippi, and a post in the Illinois country to serve as a connecting link between these two extremes. At the time, the entire interior of the Continent was a wilderness, and in all New France there were but a few thousand souls. Today, three great cities, Detroit, New Orleans, and St. Louis, occupy the centers which Cadillac designated. More striking evidence of his correct appraisal of the situation could scarcely be afforded.

For himself, Cadillac begged the royal permission to initiate the new policy by fortifying the Strait, upon which the English were already casting designing eyes. The influence of Count Pontchartrain, the Prime Minister, proved decisive, and he returned to Canada armed with the coveted authority. On June 2, 1701 he departed from Lachine with a flotilla of boats containing fifty soldiers and fifty workmen, besides necessary provisions and tools. Because peace with the Iroquois had not yet been concluded, instead of proceeding up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and thence by way of Lake Erie, he followed the Ottawa River route to Georgian Bay, which had been taken by Champlain in 1615. *Le Detroit* was the entire waterway from Lake Huron to Lake Erie, and, from present-day Port Huron onward, Cadillac eagerly scanned the river banks in search of the most eligible location for the fort and city he intended to build. A few rods west of what is now the foot of Woodward Avenue the river bank rose perhaps forty feet above the water. In front the river was narrow and unobstructed by islands, while in the rear the ground sank down to a small river—the Savoyard—running diagonally southwestward to enter the Detroit near the foot of present-day Third Street. The party landed here on July 24, 1701, and the heavy work of clearing the site of trees and erecting a stockade and buildings for shelter was begun.

The inspiring story of Detroit's birth has been related many times. Merely to reach Detroit had entailed seven and a half weeks of arduous travel by an expedition subject to military discipline. Only such supplies as could be transported in open boats for hundreds of miles, and frequently borne on the backs of men around impassable rapids or other obstructions, were at hand to found the future city. No oxen or horses had been brought along, constant guard against hostile surprise attacks had to be kept, and, besides building the fort, ground had to be cleared and wheat and other crops put in to avoid starvation the coming year; all this with the first frosts of autumn barely two months away. There was urgent need for haste, and we may feel sure the grim commander drove his men relentlessly at their appointed tasks.

The structures erected were rude enough. The stockaded enclosure, about an acre in area, was a rectangle lying along the crest of the bluff at West Jefferson Avenue between Griswold and Wayne. A gate in front opened toward the river, while another opened to the west. Within, a score of structures were erected, the church, the warehouse, and the house of Cadillac being the more important. All were built of logs, and for all but the church and the warehouse these logs were stuck in the ground perpendicularly, like the pickets of the stockade. Obviously not all of the buildings could be erected at once, and although details are lacking it seems clear that the most urgent needs received first attention. These needs were, of course, shelter from the elements and safety from the savages. Two priests came out with Cadillac, and the parish of Ste Anne is commonly said to have the same birthday as the city. Technically this may be true, but so hard-headed a soldier as Cadillac would scarcely have assigned laborers to the task of church-building until after other and more urgent wants had been cared for.

In time, however, *Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit*—Fort Pontchartrain on the Strait[2]—was completed. But for Cadillac there would have been no Detroit, and for a decade he dominated the life of the place. He came to Detroit as a feudal lord and at the same time as military commandant, with authority so extensive that he did not hesitate to inflict the death penalty. The institution of feudalism, already dying in Europe, attained a new lease on life in Canada when, in 1664, Louis XIV made the Custom of Paris the basic law of New France by royal decree. As overlord, Cadillac made all grants of real estate on the basis of feudal tenure. Within the town, these consisted of town lots, outside the town of "ribbon" or "shoestring" farms. As the need arose, the stockade was enlarged, but the lots were very small and, until the fire of 1805 destroyed it, old Detroit was a fearfully congested town, reproducing many of the aspects of life in a mediaeval walled city. Ste Anne, the principal street, was twenty-two feet wide.

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[2] The fort was named in honor of Count Pontchartrain, Prime Minister of France, whose favor had made its founding possible.

The farms all fronted on the river, the center of life in French Detroit, and, because the available river frontage was limited they were relatively narrow and correspondingly deep, usually two or three *arpents* wide and always either forty or eighty deep.[3] Translated, this means 400 or 600 feet wide and 1½ or 3 miles in depth. The farms granted by Cadillac all lay above the fort. Eventually the grants extended from far up Lake St. Clair down to the Ecorse, with additional farms along the many-fingered Rouge and along the south bank of the Detroit. Following the organization of Michigan Territory these ancient grants were transformed into the Private Claims, almost 800 in number, from which all land titles in the extensive area they covered are still derived.

Thus, for a century or more *Le Detroit* was not merely the fortified town but the entire Detroit River settlement, constituting an oasis of civilization buried deep in the western wilderness. Its development under Cadillac (1701-10) was rapid, although his plans were frequently frustrated by the many and powerful enemies he accumulated. In the end they triumphed, and Cadillac, divested of all his property, was banished to distant Mobile.[4] There his irrepressible energy found outlet in expeditions sent out to Santa Fé and to Texas, designed to open trade relations with the Spaniards of Mexico.

For infant Detroit, his downfall was a disaster of appalling dimensions. His incompetent successor almost immediately became embroiled in a war with the Foxes which was to last for a generation, and one of whose immediate results was the reduction of the fortified town to one-half the dimensions it had attained under Cadillac. With complete disregard of justice and legality all Cadillac's property was confiscated, leaving him a ruined man; of more importance to the community, all the land grants he had made were likewise nullified, thereby ruining the townsmen and settlers whose titles derived from him. Although Detroit lived on, it stagnated, and Cadillac's dream of making it a more important city than Montreal remained unrealized until the dawn of the automobile age two centuries later.

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[3] The *arpent* was a linear measure equal to 192.24 English feet. It was also a square having these dimensions, when it was known as the French *acre*.

[4] The powerful Jesuit Order was his implacable foe, as well as the Governor and Intendant of Canada. In addition, the merchants of Montreal opposed his enterprise, whose success gravely threatened the continued flow of their own profits from the Indian trade; while Cadillac himself, never noted for tact or meekness, cheerfully returned blow for blow.

The old French city endured almost exactly 104 years, when it vanished from earth in the magnificent holocaust of June 11, 1805. Here we may pause to take further note of certain features of the life of Detroit during its first one hundred years. Although the town endured many vicissitudes of fortune, always it exhibited the paradox of being at once an outpost—whether of France, England, or America—and at the same time an administrative, cultural, and commercial center for its own vast tributary area. Until 1760 it was wholly French and wholly Catholic. The British conquest of Canada produced an infiltration of Anglo-Saxon civilization which was chiefly commercial and official. More and more the town of Detroit became dominated by the representatives of this newer and alien civilization; but the great bulk of the inhabitants of the settlement remained French, and the French influence and culture was predominant in Detroit until far into the nineteenth century.

Detroit is exceptionally rich in historic records, and the story of the Ste Anne parish will illustrate conveniently the development of the city. The parish dates from July 24, 1701, and the original church was built soon after this date. A couple of years later it burned down, and the parish register was consumed with it. A new church was erected and a new register begun. This is still preserved, complete from the winter of 1704, the oldest continuous Catholic parish register in the United States, saving only the one at St. Augustine. Until the advent of the British in 1760 it is a virtually complete directory of all Detroiters. From about the date noted it becomes progressively less inclusive, since the non-Catholic element continued to increase, and also since residents on the south side of the river were presently attached to Assumption parish at Sandwich. Eventually (in the nineteenth century) as the city came to be dominated more and more by alien elements, the original Ste Anne parish was divided into two, one on the east side and one on the west side of Detroit. In this bifurcated form the life of the ancient parish still continues.

In the primitive era of Detroit's life practically all travel was by water, and the only land highway in the settlement was the road which ran along the river bank. On its landward side rose a heavy picket fence, back of which stood the farmhouse, facing the river. Behind the house were the orchard and the barnyard with its outbuildings, and back of these in turn stretched the pastures and cultivated fields, beyond which ran the native forest. Because the farms were so narrow, the whitewashed farmhouses lined the river bank—eventually for a distance of twenty miles or more—so close together as to present the appearance of a continuous compact settlement. Striking indeed was the contrast in appearance between the peaceful settlement and the surrounding wilderness, and the visitor from abroad, coming upon it for the first time after a journey of hundreds of miles of arduous travel was correspondingly impressed.

Another paradox presented by French Detroit was the fact that the life of the settlement was both curiously provincial and extraordinarily cosmopolitan. Buried in the wilderness, with markets for surplus produce practically nonexistent, the farmer had no incentive to produce in excess of the local demand. Since he had many sons and daughters and since *le Detroit* was the garden spot of Canada, whose fertile soil rewarded liberally his slightest toil, he led a carefree existence of Arcadian abundance and simplicity. Contacts with the outside world were few, every *habitant* knew all the rest, at least by reputation, and the young folks, of necessity, intermarried with their neighbors, until presently all the people of the settlement were connected by interlocking ties of blood. Since there was no economic reason for postponement, marriages were contracted early, and large families were the rule. Girls commonly married at sixteen, and often at an even earlier age. Unless death terminated the union, a woman might be a grandmother, and the mother of a dozen children while still in her early thirties. The childhood mortality was appalling, and the name of a dead child was frequently bestowed upon a younger brother or sister, entailing consequent confusion upon genealogists of a later century.

The French genius for happy social intercourse found ample expression at Detroit. All were loyal Catholics, who religiously attended church services and no less religiously engaged in social diversions which seemed shockingly evil to Yankee newcomers of puritanical habits. The diversions might take the form of horse racing on the river in winter, or of dancing, gambling, and other group activities at other seasons of the year. The social standards of French Detroit were those of the France of Louis XIV, and since they looked upon this bygone era as representing the ideal of cultural perfection, they entertained no desire for progress or for another way of life. When the restless Yankee settler arrived in Michigan in the early nineteenth century he scornfully judged the native French to be a set of slothful, unambitious laggards, quite unaware, usually, that they entertained for him a feeling of calm and assured superiority, despising his boorish manners and indifferent to his bustling efforts to achieve a better condition in life.

Beside the provincialism existed influences which intimately associated the residents of early Detroit with the great outside world. Always there was the army, whose officers came and went. Often they married Detroit girls, who, after their husbands' removal to distant stations, provided a bond of connection with the relatives left behind. The officers themselves were cultivated men, who frequently made and maintained warm friendships at Detroit. Lieutenant Meredith, for example, married a daughter of John Askin, Detroit merchant and veteran of the Seven Years' War. Meredith served in England and on the Continent during the Napoleonic wars, and in long letters to his father-in-law reported the military developments of the time, while his vivacious wife regaled her mother and sisters with descriptions of the latest feminine fashions and with chitchat about the great and near-great personages with whom she came in contact.[5] Many of the army officers were men of scientific, literary, or artistic tastes, owners and readers of the standard books of their time. An army officer at Fort St. Joseph in the 1730's busied himself with the collection of botanical specimens to send back to Paris in the interest of the advancement of knowledge. The opening of the Pontiac War in 1763 found Sir Robert Davers, an educated Englishman, touring the Upper Lakes. In 1791 an Italian nobleman and scholar penetrated to Lake Superior in pursuit of scientific data. In 1721 Father Charlevoix visited Detroit and in his book, subsequently issued, described the life and library of the resident priest. About thirty years later (1749) Father Bonnécamps, Jesuit mathematician, took the earliest recorded astronomical observations at Detroit. John Askwith, Detroit clerk, who died insolvent in 1795, left a library of 130 volumes, including dictionaries, grammars, histories, and other scholarly works.

These are illustrations chosen at random. More important as a cosmopolitan influence were the operations of the merchants. Such a man as John Askin was in frequent intercourse with business men in scores of distant places, while the state of the European markets or impending changes in fashions and in politics were matters of keen concern to him. William Robertson, after achieving a large fortune at Detroit in the post-Revolutionary decade, retired to England where he became a friend and adviser of William Pitt. Even the humble *voyageur,* although ignorant and superstitious, might set out at almost any time on journeys to Montreal, the upper Mississippi, or the regions lying beyond Lake Superior. Facilities for the education of the common people were woefully lacking, with the natural result that a high degree of illiteracy prevailed; but the more prosperous families made strenuous exertions to educate their children, sending them to Montreal or Quebec, or, in the English period, to Albany or even across the sea for their schooling.

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[5] The letters of Meredith and his wife over a long period of years are preserved among the Askin Papers in the Detroit Public Library, the Dominion Archives at Ottawa, and the Ontario Provincial Archives at Toronto. Many of them have been published in *The John Askin Papers,* volumes I and II, issued by the Detroit Public Library.

Schoolmasters were imported to Detroit, also, at the private expense of the families employing them, while much instruction was undoubtedly given by the parents in the home.[6] Uninformed and supercilious Yankee commentators have often dwelt upon the supposed lack of regard for legal records and procedure by the French population of Detroit and the Northwest. In fact, the institution of the French family was a far more complex thing than it was among the Americans, and a French marriage agreement puts to shame the corresponding English procedure for the minuteness and care exhibited in making legal provision for the interests of the family about to be established.[7] French Detroit still awaits an historian skillful and industrious enough to record its story properly; when he shall appear, the culture and standards of the time will be depicted in a far more impressive fashion than has ever yet been done.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 6

Many of the original documents for the founding and early years of Detroit have been printed in *Mich. Pioneer Colls.,* especially volumes XXXIII andXXXIV; in *New York Colonial Documents,* volume IX; in *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* volume XVI; and in the Pierre Margry collection of *Documents. . . .* Cadillac was witty, brilliant, and pugnacious, and his own letters and reports are even yet decidedly interesting. Possibly the best secondary account of Detroit's early years is C. M. Burton, "Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit—1701 to 1710—Under Cadillac," printed in *Mich. Pioneer Colls.,* XXIX, 240-317. Valuable also is his briefer picture of early Detroit in the same volume, 225-239. Additional secondary accounts are in Almon E. Parkin, *The Historical Geography of Detroit* (Lansing, 1918), chapters II and III; in Harlan Hatcher, *Lake Erie* (*The American Lakes Series,* Indianapolis, 1945), chapters IV and V; and in the several histories of Detroit. Publication of a series of critical articles on the career of Cadillac by Father Jean Delanglez, begun in the January, 1944 issue of *Mid-America,* presents the Jesuit point of view. Of particular value for the light it sheds upon the way of life of French Detroit is Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier.*

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[6] The wife of Henry R. Schoolcraft, noted Indian authority, was thus trained by her father, George Johnson of the Sault. George Sharp, a graduate of Edinburgh University, came to Detroit in 1782 to teach, but, disappointed in securing a position, he became a successful merchant instead.

[7] For examples of such documents see *B. H. C. Leaflet,* III, 1-16.

CHAPTER 7

Red Brothers

THE INDIAN OCCUPIED America before the white man came. He is still here, in numbers perhaps as great as when Columbus mistakenly named him 450 years ago. From the beginning until a date within the memory of men still living, his presence was a potent influence shaping the history of our country. To trace that influence in the history of the State of Michigan is our present theme.

In earlier chapters we have noted how the desire of missionaries to convert, and of traders and others to exploit, the Indian brought about the French exploration and occupation of the Upper Lakes in the seventeenth century. Almost at the close of the century the Evacuation Decree of 1696 signalized the withdrawal of all Frenchmen except the missionaries and the outlaws from the Upper Country. With the founding of Detroit, the new policy conceived by Cadillac precipitated changes of momentous importance to the further course of history in the Northwest.

Cadillac had seen long years of service in New France, including several as commandant at the important post of Mackinac. To a thorough familiarity with the western country he added a statesmanlike grasp of the situation which was shared by few, if any, of his contemporaries. His project for the establishment of Detroit contemplated a veritable revolution in the administration of affairs in the Northwest. He proposed to make Detroit a self-sustaining agricultural colony, around which the tribes of the Upper Country should be invited to settle in friendly alliance; thereby they would be enabled to procure from the French the goods on which they had come to depend, and incidentally would imbibe, from the example set before them, the civilization and culture of the white man. In return, as hunters they would collect the furs on the trade of which the economic welfare of New France depended.

For a time Cadillac met with remarkable success in the prosecution of his program. The settlement prospered and a considerable number of families, the first in the Northwest, were established.[1] The Huron and Ottawa from Mackinac were the first of the Indian tribes to respond to the invitation to remove to Detroit. In 1703 the Chippewa and Mississaugua established a village near-by, and about the same time a Mohican village was founded. The Miami from Wisconsin had located some years before on the St. Joseph River (vicinity of modern Niles), where Father Allouez had spent his last years. In 1707 they moved to the Maumee, attaching their name permanently to that stream, while the Potawatomi moved down from Wisconsin to the St. Joseph, and before long established a village at Detroit.

Detroit thus became, from its infancy, the gathering-place of many nations. But Cadillac's success had been achieved at the cost of making many powerful enemies—the Church, the official caste of Canada, the commercial element of Montreal and Quebec—and to maintain harmonious relations between the diverse bands of savages gathered around the fort taxed even his genius for leadership to the utmost. The Indian seemed chronically addicted to warfare, and between the different tribes existed ancient jealousies and hatreds which only time and patience could eradicate. From such a background, whose outlines we have but briefly sketched, sprang the minor Indian war of 1706, and the far more serious one whose opening scene was enacted at Detroit in 1712.

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[1] A fine mural by Gari Melchers in the Delivery Room of the Detroit Public Library depicts the arrival of the wives of Cadillac and Tonty in the autumn of 1701. Their coming marks the beginning of settled homes and cultivated women and children in the western country, with all that the presence of these influences imply.

In 1704 Cadillac was ordered down to Quebec to answer various charges preferred by his enemies, and his absence was prolonged for two years. The command of Detroit at first devolved upon Lieutenant Alphonse Tonty. Although he had been Cadillac's trusted confidant hitherto, he soon entered upon a course which disclosed that he had been won over by the enemies of his chief. Late in 1705 he, too, departed for Quebec, and the vacant command now devolved upon the Sieur de Bourgmont.

Bourgmont soon proved himself to be one of the choicest rascals in history's pages, and under his incompetent and criminal leadership Detroit skidded swiftly toward utter ruin. Even before Cadillac's departure, bad feeling had developed between the Miami and the Ottawa, and Bourgmont so mishandled the situation as to convince the latter that the French were conspiring with their enemies to destroy them. The causes of war are commonly deep-seated; their immediate occasions are frequently trivial enough. To infant Detroit was reserved the distinction of beginning a war over a dog-bite. A delegation of Ottawa called upon Bourgmont to notify him of their intention to begin hostilities against the Miami. In the course of the interview Bourgmont's dog bit a warrior, who retaliated with a blow, whereupon the Commandant fell upon him, beating him so severely that he died.

Next day the Ottawa attacked a party of Miami, and those who escaped slaughter sought refuge within the fort. The young Ottawa warriors were now hot for war upon the French, a development which their elders strove desperately to avert. Meantime, Father Constantin, ignorant of what was impending, was taken prisoner while working in his garden outside the fort. He was soon released by one of the chiefs and sent to Bourgmont with a message that the Ottawa were not warring upon the French, but upon the Miami alone. In the midst of the uproar, however, the priest was shot and a soldier was also slain. Bourgmont now opened fire upon the Ottawa and in the fighting that ensued about thirty warriors were killed.

The tale of this affair was carried down to Quebec, where Governor Vaudreuil elected to escape a difficult responsibility by ordering Cadillac back to Detroit to restore order. Although Cadillac promptly returned, before he arrived Bourgmont had committed one of the gravest crimes known to a soldier by deserting his post and fleeing with a band of associates to the wilderness of northern Ohio. Cadillac sent fifty soldiers to apprehend the deserters, three of whom were seized and brought back to Detroit, where on November 7, 1707, one of them was sentenced to death by the ancient military punishment of having "his head broken by eight soldiers, being first degraded of his arms." Thus was Detroit supplied with its first legal execution. Bourgmont, the ringleader in infamy, spent many years in the wilderness, and finally won his way back to civilization, respectability, and a wealthy widow for his bride, in a career which outrivals the choicest imaginings of a Stevenson or a Poe.

The Foxes of Wisconsin ignored for several years the overtures of Cadillac to remove to Detroit and place themselves under his protection. They were an Algonquin tribe, allied in language with the Sauk, Mascoutin, and Kickapoo. According to a dim tradition they had once lived in the vicinity of Montreal, but the Jesuits of early Huronia (1630-40) found them living in lower Michigan, neighbors of the Sauk, whose name is still borne by Saginaw Bay and River. Along with the Huron and others they fled westward before the ravaging Iroquois, and, in 1666, the trader Perrot found them living in a great village of 600 cabins on the upper Wolf River of Wisconsin. As yet they had no direct contact with white traders, and Father Allouez, who labored among them for several years (1670-78) met with but little success in winning them from their ancient faith.

In short, they were a self-reliant people, just on the point of emerging from their Stone-Age culture and slow to abandon their ancient beliefs and habits. Following the advent of La Salle in the western country (1680-82) the Miami, Mascoutin, and other Wisconsin tribes migrated southward into Illinois and around Lake Michigan, while the Foxes moved down from the upper Wolf and settled down astride the strategic Fox-Wisconsin water route from Green Bay to the Mississippi. Here they were in position to block the French from access to the Sioux with whom a trade had been opened and who were long-standing enemies of the Foxes. In short, west of Lake Michigan, the Foxes were proving a serious obstacle to the French and the stage was gradually set for the great conflict whose overt beginning was reserved for the following century.

Meanwhile two factions, one pro-French, the other anti-French, were developing within the tribe. In 1710 the former group, numbering 1,000 men, women, and children, abandoned their Wisconsin home and made the long overland migration southward around Lake Michigan to Detroit. It proved a fatal step, fraught with disaster for all concerned. They arrived to find Cadillac gone, his property despoiled and his policies discredited, and Detroit in the hands of his enemies. Whether the Foxes had any clear comprehension of the changed political situation may well be doubted. In any event they had never been renowned for docility, and they soon became embroiled with their neighbors. The French authorities viewed them with disfavor and blamed them for the difficulties that ensued. By this time the Governor of New France was in mortal fear lest the English should succeed in stirring up the Iroquois once more against the French, and lest the Foxes at Detroit might then make common cause with the Iroquois and seize the fort. Clearly they constituted a potential source of danger to Detroit, which could best be removed by securing their return to Wisconsin.

In 1711 certain of the chiefs were summoned to Montreal and plainly warned to this effect. They did not leave Detroit, and the French soon began to entertain a lively fear that they were being won over to the English cause. In the winter of 1711-12, therefore, a plot was hatched for their destruction. Since the Foxes had no historian, we have only the French accounts of what followed, and these, of course, put the best possible face upon their own course of action. It is perhaps impossible to sift out the exact truth of the matter, but even the French reports disclose that the Foxes were not the aggressors. Dubuisson, the commandant at Detroit, represents that the Ottawa, Huron, and other tribes determined upon the destruction of the Foxes, and that he sought to induce them to satisfy themselves with merely driving them away. But it is unbelievable that these red allies of the French should independently plan and execute such an enterprise, or that the French could be coerced into it against their will. The documents leave no room for doubt that the French commander incited his savage allies to the plot, and that in its execution they acted merely as his agents.

Hostilities began between the Ottawa and Huron on one side and the Foxes on the other. Dubuisson made common cause with the former, who were soon reinforced by bands from several additional tribes. The Foxes were clearly amazed by this turn of events. "What does this mean, my Father," demanded one of their chiefs as the fire was opened from the French fort. "Thou didst invite us to come and dwell with thee . . . and yet thou declarest war against us. What cause have we given for it? . . . But know that the Reynard is immortal; and that if in defending myself I shed the blood of Frenchmen my Father cannot reproach me."[2] Across the little Savoyard, where today tower the great office-buildings of Detroit, the conflict raged hotly for many days. At length, encumbered by their women and children and perishing from thirst, the Foxes offered to surrender. The offer was rejected, and under cover of the night they slipped out of their fort and stole away. In modern Grosse Pointe, favorite resort of Detroit's multimillionaires, they were brought to bay and a second siege of several days' duration ensued, ending in the capture of the survivors.[3] Most of the warriors made their escape, but the women and children were carried back to Detroit and there subjected to wholesale torture until the supply of prisoners ran out.

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[2] Narrative of the siege by Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 293-295. For Dubuisson's much longer narrative of the siege see the same volume, 267-287.

[3] The small stream in this immediate vicinity is still called Fox Creek.

"In this manner," concludes Dubuisson's long report, "came to an end, Sir, these two wicked nations [the Foxes and their Mascoutin ally], who so badly afflicted and troubled all the country." The priest chanted a Mass of thanksgiving for the victory and an itemized bill of expenses incurred by Dubuisson may still be seen, showing that to secure the butchery of 1,000 souls the French government was put to an expense of 2,900 livres. But the Fox nation had not been destroyed. They had suffered a terrible disaster, but several hundred of their warriers still remained at large. They infested all the highways of travel, and the Ottawa and Huron allies of the French preferred to starve in their camps rather than expose themselves to the Foxes by engaging in their customary hunts.

A volume might easily be written about the war which began in this way in the center of Detroit's busy loop, but here the story must be limited to a few pages. The close of the Spanish Succession War (Treaty of Utrecht, 1713) freed Governor Vaudreuil's hands to attend to the crushing of the western rebellion. In 1715, therefore, he sent De Lignery, a veteran officer, to Mackinac to stir up the western French allies against the Foxes, and the *coureurs des bois* were offered a general pardon on condition that they join the expedition. De Lignery was to lead the northern tribesmen to Green Bay, while the Illinois, Miami, and Detroit bands were to rendezvous at Chicago and march northward from that point. The two detachments were to time their movements so as to reach Green Bay at the same time and there join in a concerted attack upon the Fox stronghold. But so intricate an operation over so vast an extent of territory could not be executed according to plan, and the campaign ended in utter fiasco.

A second effort quickly followed. De Lignery had not been given an army, but instead was expected to utilize the *coureurs des bois* and the friendly Indians to overcome the Foxes. His failure led to the launching of the first considerable army ever sent into the western country by the French, and the first sent against the red men since Frontenac's last invasion of the Iroquois country twenty years earlier. The command was given to the Sieur de Louvigny, who had preceded Cadillac as commandant at Mackinac from 1691 to 1694. In May, 1716 he left Montreal with 225 French soldiers and a large number of Christian Indians, going west by way of the Lakes to overawe the Iroquois, who were disposed to sympathize with the Foxes. At Mackinac he was joined by 200 more Frenchmen and he led an army of over 800 Indians and whites to the attack on the Foxes. Instead of fleeing before such an array, they stood at bay in a triple-palisaded fort, which Louvigny proceeded to invest in regular European fashion. Finding his small cannon could make no impression on the palisades, he planned to undermine and blow up the fort. At this point the Foxes asked for a truce, which he apparently gladly granted, and the siege ended with their promise to hunt for furs with which to pay the cost of the invasion.

Thereupon Louvigny returned to Canada proclaiming himself the conqueror of the Foxes. In fact, although he had wrung from them a formal admission that their country belonged to France, he had inflicted no material punishment whatever. A lull of several years now ensued, with the Foxes, although quiescent, still defiant of the French. Apart from this armed truce, one other consequence followed from the futile campaign. For the first time a permanent garrison was established at Green Bay, which had been a center of Jesuit and other activities for almost half a century. This step marks the general reversal of the program to evacuate the Upper Country, registered in the Evacuation Decree of 1696, whose beginning had been signalized by the founding of Detroit in 1701. The government now definitely returned to the earlier policy of establishing posts throughout the West to control the tribes and to supervise the conduct of the white traders.

For many years following Louvigny's failure of 1716 the western country remained in a hectic state, with the Foxes defying the French and warring upon their Illinois and Sioux allies. Father Charlevoix's journal of 1721 illustrates vividly the general situation. He shows that the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi was entirely closed, and, although he journeyed from Lake Michigan to the lower Mississippi by way of the Kankakee and Illinois Rivers, the sights he observed on the journey to Peoria were such that he admits he could not sleep for a week. During these years the French meditated, and often threatened, the complete extermination of the Foxes. The task was not performed, although in 1728 De Lignery led 500 Frenchmen and 1,000 Indians from Montreal on his second invasion of Wisconsin. From the Illinois country came a coöperating force several hundred strong, and the two armies joined in the vicinity of Green Bay. This time the Foxes drew back, and the French ravaged and burned their towns; after which De Lignery burned the French fort at Green Bay and retreated, thereby confessing the essential failure of his expedition.

The Indian allies of the French were now sent against the Foxes, and in 1729 they sued for peace. It was not granted, and discouraged by the desertion of their Kickapoo and Mascoutin allies, they returned to their earlier design of abandoning Wisconsin and journeying eastward to unite with the friendly Iroquois. Some twelve or thirteen hundred set out upon this migration in the summer of 1730. So great a movement could not be long concealed, and southward of Chicago they were brought to bay by converging detachments of French and Indians. They holed in beside a little river, and for several days conducted a desperate defense. It proved another Detroit for the Foxes, hundreds of whom were slaughtered, and the migration was broken up.[4]

The French leader in this triumph was De Villiers, who for many years had been commandant at St. Joseph (modern Niles) where he had reared a large family, including several sons who were junior army officers. In 1731, as a reward for his victory, he was ordered to reëstablish the post at Green Bay, which had been burned by De Lignery in 1728. Here, in 1733, in a rash attempt to take from the Sauk some Foxes who were visiting them, De Villiers and one of his sons were slain, and the war blazed up anew.

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[4] On the destruction of the Foxes in 1730 and the location of this fort see Stanley Faye, "The Foxes Fort—1730" in Ill. State Hist. Soc. *Journal,* XXVIII, 123-163.

The permanent union of the Sauk and Foxes, which still continues, dates from this time. To avenge the killing of De Villiers the French demanded that the Sauk abandon the Foxes and return to their former French allegiance, on pain of extermination. They refused, and both tribes, abandoning their Wisconsin homes, sought refuge in the heart of present-day Iowa. Here an army from distant Montreal, led by De Noyelles, sought them out in 1734, but after an inconclusive battle the invaders were glad to beat a retreat to French Illinois.

Things were now going badly for the French. In 1736 even the Sioux became hostile, and the same year an invasion of the Chickasaw country (modern Tennessee), conducted by forces from points as distant as Mackinac and New Orleans, ended in failure and the complete slaughter of the Illinois detachment of the army. French control over the western tribes was weakening, and the Governor was compelled to abandon the policy of exterminating the Foxes. Another desperate duel with England was threatening, and about 1740 the long war ended with a general conciliation of the western tribes. It left them sullen and disgruntled, however, and deaf to French appeals for coöperation against the English, whose traders were crossing the Alleghanies and penetrating to the very heart of France's rich western preserve. In 1746 the Huron even plotted the destruction of Detroit. In this they were checkmated, and desperate efforts were made to strengthen the place and to restore the fast weakening loyalty of the red men to their French Father. Another world war was in the making and its first furies were to burst upon the entrancing region which stretches southward from Detroit toward the Ohio Valley. This new struggle will command our attention in the succeeding chapter.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 7

For the early history of Michigan in general see the references already cited at the close of chapter VI. For the period of the Fox wars, many documents are printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* volumes XVI and XVII. Francis Parkman's account of the wars in his *Half Century of Conflict,* chapters XII and XIV is vivid, but in certain important respects is now outdated. For more recent secondary accounts see Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin,* chapters XIII-XV, and M. M. Quaife, *Wisconsin, Its History and Its People* (Chicago, 1924), volume I, chapters VIII and IX. For a briefer recent account see Quaife, *Lake Michigan,* chapter VII. For the lurid career of Bourgmont see the present writer's narrative in *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet,* VI, 49-64.

CHAPTER 8

The English Come to Michigan

In 1740 Frederick II of Prussia, lusting for the province of Silesia, made a raid upon the domain of Empress Maria Theresa. Thus was begun the eight-year conflict which is known as the War of the Austrian Succession. Its American phase, which we call King George's War, began in 1744 when France and England formally entered the struggle as allies respectively of Prussia and Austria. For France and England the war was the third in the series of wars which began in 1688 and lasted until 1815. In the earlier of these wars the red men of the Northwest were repeatedly summoned to Lower Canada to assist their French Father in his warfare with the English. In King George's War, however, they mostly held aloof from the struggle, which was largely confined to a series of campaigns and raids between Canada and the seaboard English colonies.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which terminated the Austrian Succession War in 1748, marks a momentous turning point in the history of North America. Until now the French and English in America had warred against each other primarily because their mother countries were warring in Europe. The latter did not go to war on behalf of their colonies, nor did they, in making peace, pay much regard to the colonists' wishes or welfare. The wars were Old World struggles, in which America participated only incidentally. The point had now been reached, however, after 140 years of development, when the interests of the colonies were to control the actions of the mother countries; the warfare which initiated the Seven Years' War began in the backwoods of America several years before its formal declaration by the home governments in 1756.

It came about in this way. By 1740 New France comprised an immense expanse of territory stretching from the Gulf of St. Lawrence through the heart of the continent to the Gulf of Mexico. At either extremity—Canada and Louisiana—this domain was strongly occupied, but the hold on the middle portion was comparatively weak. In particular, due to the long-time hostility of the Iroquois and the consequent deflection in the route taken by the French to reach the interior, the upper Ohio Valley was as yet totally unoccupied by them. Here was the danger point in the French scheme of empire in America. The English, far more numerous than the French, had consumed a century and a quarter in occupying the Atlantic coastal plain, where they were now solidly entrenched. During these decades, however, their shadow had loomed ominously over France's interior domain. From the Carolinas, almost from the beginning, enterprising traders had penetrated by way of the Tennessee valley to the lower Mississippi.

In like manner Virginia and Pennsylvania traders pressed into the Ohio Valley, while, before the close of the seventeenth century, Albany adventurers reached Lake Erie and Lake Huron. The occupation of *le Detroit* by Cadillac in 1701 had provided an effective check to English advance in this direction, and had forestalled their design of fortifying the Strait. The cumulative influences of the Fox and Austrian Succession wars produced a crisis for New France in the Northwest. By the former, the allegiance of the red men to their French Father was severely strained. During the latter, the English navy swept the seas of French commerce. Because of French governmental strait-jacketing of industry, the English had always been able to undersell the French in their competition for the Indian trade. Now the supply of goods which trickled through to Canada was wholly inadequate to supply the needs of their

Indian wards, and the price demanded for them rose to tremendous heights.

Meanwhile the English were in readiness to climb their mountain wall and descend its western slope into the Valley of the Ohio. This westward thrust was directed at the one point above all others where New France was weakest; and if successful, the thrust would prove fatal, for with the English in control of the Ohio Valley New France would be cut in twain and the downfall of Canada and Louisiana would follow as a matter of course. On the other hand, unless the English were to resign themselves to a position of permanent inferiority in America, they must break the flimsy chain by which their rivals had sought to bar them from the interior. To each group the stake at issue was a vital one, and the conflict that ensued was inevitable. Thus the upper Ohio Valley became the goal in a race on whose issue hung the fate of a continent and the future United States.

As early as 1744, commissioners from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania had met the Iroquois in council at Lancaster, Pennsylvania and secured from them the cession of a great strip of land running along the back side of Virginia in the eastern Ohio Valley, thereby paving the way for the settlement of the transmontane country. Three years later a group of Virginia and English speculators, whose number included two of George Washington's elder brothers, organized the Ohio Company, which, in 1748, obtained from the English government the grant of 500,000 acres of land on the upper Ohio on condition that the Company should build a fort and establish 100 families of settlers there. The Ohio Company became henceforth the spearhead of the English advance, and in 1750 it sent out Christopher Gist to survey its grant, as a preliminary to actual settlement.

For years the English traders had been wooing the Indians of the Ohio country, penetrating as far as Lake Erie and the valley of the Wabash. At Logstown on the Ohio, eighteen miles below the Forks, was the western center of the traders and hither came numerous bands of red men to barter for English goods. In 1747 even the Huron of Detroit and Sandusky, who had been accounted the close allies of the French since the days of Champlain, entered upon a plot to surprise and destroy Detroit. Although this plot was circumvented, it afforded growing evidence of the extent of the English influence. This same year a band of Miami from Fort Wayne, likewise ancient allies of the French, removed to the Great Miami River of Ohio and at present-day Piqua established the town of Pickawillany, where a new center of English activity speedily developed.

The French response to the English menace was prompt and characteristic. On June 15, 1749 an imposing expedition set forth from Montreal for the Ohio. The leader, Céloron de Blainville, was an able and veteran officer, who had spent eight years as commandant at Mackinac and two at Detroit. With 150 soldiers and *voyageurs,* escorted by 30 Indians, he was now departing in 23 great bark canoes on a journey of 1,200 leagues and 5 months' duration. His task was the truly formidable one of sweeping every Englishman out of the Ohio Valley and formally and finally asserting the French title to it.

On July 6, the expedition reached Niagara, where the French had maintained a fort since 1726.[1] Portaging around the Falls and passing the site of Buffalo, the army came to the portage which led to Lake Chautauqua, and there the French crossed to the headwaters of the Alleghany. They descended this river and the Ohio, pausing from time to time to hold councils with the natives, until they came to the mouth of the Great Miami. From the headwaters of this stream the voyagers made a 75-mile portage to the Maumee at Fort Wayne, the outmost point of their journey. From here Céloron descended the Maumee, paid a visit to Detroit,[2] and then turned homeward to Quebec to report in person to the Governor that November.

Whenever, on the outward journey, English traders were encountered, they were warned to leave the country. Céloron's orders required him to confiscate their goods, but the devotion of the natives to the English compelled him to desist from this measure. Before leaving Canada a number of lead plates had been provided on which the French claim to the country had been inscribed. At appropriate points along the Ohio they were solemnly buried, while over them the arms of France, stamped on sheets of tin, were nailed to trees.

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[1] Fort Niagara has been garrisoned continuously by French, British, and American governments from 1726 until the present day.

[2] His name is still attached to Céloron Island, which lies at the mouth of Detroit River.

But lead in another form was required to command the respect of the turbulent English traders. Of more immediate importance were the councils held by Céloron with the red men, who for the most part proved discouragingly fond of the English. The most significant of these councils was the one held with Old Britain, chief of the Miami band which had settled at Pickawillany. In a long speech, Céloron demanded that he should at once abandon the place and return to his former home at Fort Wayne. The significance of this demand lay in the fact that at Pickawillany the Indians were wholly under English influence; the return to Fort Wayne would signify the breaking of this new alliance and the renewal of the former French connection. In reply, Old Britain temporized and concluded with a somewhat equivocal pledge to comply with Céloron's demand the ensuing spring. Its worthlessness was plain enough, but Céloron could do no more than threaten future vengeance upon the Miami should they persist in their present defiant attitude toward the French.

Since the case of Old Britain provided the ultimate test of French authority in the West, we may follow it to the end. He did not keep his promise to Céloron, and in the spring of 1751 Christopher Gist, the Ohio Company surveyor, appeared at Pickawillany. He was royally received by Old Britain, who raised the English colors over his house in the visitor's honor. Numerous councils ensued and the English influence was running at high tide when suddenly a rival embassy appeared. It consisted of five Ottawa from Detroit, who had been sent by the French commandant to remonstrate once more with the Miami chieftain. The latter made a display of impartiality by flying both the French and the English flags. In the council that followed, the Ottawa delivered, in the presence of Gist, the final

French appeal to the Miami, together with the threat that if it were disregarded war would be made upon them. Old Britain's response was a message of defiance; the Miami would die at their post rather than return to Fort Wayne. With this answer the French colors were taken down and the embassy was dismissed.

The urgent need of the French was to pour a flood of settlers into the western country, and no one realized this better than the Governor of New France who vainly urged the home government to locate 10,000 peasants on the upper Ohio as the only effective means of holding it against the English. The peasants were not to be had, however, and the government, instead, undertook to develop Detroit by establishing a large number of new settlers there. This resulted in a considerable access of population, but it proved wholly futile as a measure for dominating the Ohio country. The experiment of substituting government funds for private initiative proved similar to certain governmental enterprises of more recent years. The settlers, reported Father Bonnécamps, "contented themselves with eating the rations that the King provided. Some among them, even, carried away by their natural levity, have left the country and gone to seek their fortune elsewhere." [3]

In short, the project proved a sorry failure. The design was now formed of driving the English from the Ohio by stirring up the western tribes against them and to the Ottawa was assigned the task of wreaking vengeance on Old Britain. In the early summer of 1752, Charles de Langlade, a young half-breed from Mackinac, swept down the lakes at the head of 250 Ottawa braves. At Detroit a few Frenchmen joined the army, which presently appeared before Pickawillany. The town was soon destroyed, and the English traders killed or captured; Old Britain, who had dared to befriend the English, was boiled and eaten, and Pickawillany ceased to exist. Graphic notice had been served that neither Englishmen nor red men friendly to them could live in the Ohio Valley any longer. France had appealed to arms, and the opening blow in a new world war had been struck in the heart of North America by an army of Michigan savages.

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[3] *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX, 192-193.

In 1753 Governor Duquesne followed up the demonstration of French determination made at Pickawillany by establishing garrisons and forts, scattered at strategic points from Lake Erie southward. An expedition 1,500 strong left Montreal in the spring for the Ohio. At Erie, Pennsylvania, it paused long enough to build Fort Presque Isle, and then, proceeding inland, erected Fort Le Boeuf, and Fort Venango on the Alleghany. Here sickness stayed the further advance, and leaving 300 troops to garrison the new forts, the remainder of the army returned to Canada.

The news of these activities provoked much excitement in the English colonies, but only Virginia, under the lead of Governor Dinwiddie and the Ohio Company, was ready to act. The Governor sent an agent to the forks of the Ohio to select the site for a fort, but before it could be occupied the Virginia Assembly had to be called, and this delayed action until 1754. Meanwhile, Dinwiddie determined to send to the French commandant on the Alleghany a formal demand to evacuate the new forts. For this mission he chose young George Washington, who, guided by Surveyor Gist, made the winter journey across the mountains which our school histories have long amply celebrated. Although the French received him courteously, they clearly stated their intention to drive every Englishman from the Ohio. The time for debate was ended; the era of marching armies was at hand.

On Washington's return Dinwiddie at once determined to fortify the forks of the Ohio, and a party of men was sent out to begin the work. Before they had finished, the French descended the Alleghany and drove off the little force of Englishmen. They then completed the fort on an enlarged plan and named it Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada. Meanwhile a small army was being organized, and in March, 1754, led by Washington it set out for the Ohio. The campaign that followed ended ignominiously enough. A few days' march from the forks Washington built a small stockade, to which he gave the name of Fort Necessity. On July 3, 1754 both fort and Virginia army were abjectly surrendered to the French.

Before this, however, Washington had committed an act which still taxes the ingenuity of his admirers to defend. Its relation involves the story of one of early Michigan's remarkable families. In 1724 Lieutenant Coulon de Villiers was given command of Fort St. Joseph near modern Niles. Six years later he crushed the Foxes near Chicago, and for this exploit he was presently promoted to a captaincy and the command of Green Bay. He had a large family of sons and daughters, and no less than six of the former became soldiers. At Green Bay the father and one of the sons were killed in the tragic Sauk outbreak of 1733. Two other sons, Louis and Joseph, who had grown to manhood at St. Joseph, were now veteran officers, serving on the upper Ohio. The commandant at Fort Duquesne, on learning of Washington's approach, sent Joseph (who is commonly known as Jumonville) under the protection of a flag of truce to carry a message of warning and protest to Washington. Indian scouts carried the report of Jumonville's party to Washington, who believed, apparently mistakenly, that it was in reality engaged on a spying mission. With fifty men he set forth in search of Jumonville, and coming upon him at dawn opened fire. A single Frenchman escaped to carry the story to Fort Duquesne. All the rest were quickly killed or captured, the wounded prisoners being slain and scalped by Washington's Indians. In this first battle of his career,[4] Washington's success was overwhelming.

But the sequel was less happy. When Louis Coulon de Villiers learned of his brother's fate, he begged permission to avenge it; and it was Louis who demanded and received the surrender of Washington on July 3. This time no single prisoner was slain, but Washington was compelled to sign articles of capitulation which recited that he was unlawfully invading the realm of France in a time of peace, and had "assassinated" the dead Frenchman. A year or two later the French Government pilloried him before the world in a series of atrocity accusations. In defense, Washington asserted that Jumonville had forfeited the protection which all nations accord a flag of truce, and that his interpreter had not correctly explained the meaning of his unfortunate admissions in the articles of surrender. Perhaps the best defense the historian can make is to admit that he was an ardent greenhorn who had been thrust into a position of responsibility with which his youthful inexperience was incapable of coping.

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[4] "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound," he wrote to his brother of this affair. When this was reported to King George II, that monarch observed, "He would not say so, if he had been used to hear many." See Hughes, *George Washington*, I, 120.

The story of the Seven Years' War in America has been many times related, and at present only such portions of it as may be necessary to show its bearings on the development of Michigan and the Northwest will be told. By their early seizure of the disputed Ohio Valley, the French were successful in turning most of the tribes of that region against the English for the earlier years of the war. In addition, they summoned to their aid their northwestern allies from the forests of Michigan and Wisconsin, and even from beyond the borders of Lake Superior, and repeatedly these tawny allies of New France journeyed to Montreal or Niagara to participate in the French assaults on the extended English frontier.

Conspicuous among the leaders of these western warriors was de Langlade, the Mackinac half-breed, hero of the destruction of Pickawillany in 1752. In his long career he is said to have taken part in ninety-nine battles and skirmishes, and in his old age he regretted that the number was not an even hundred. As the able leader of the Michigan Ottawa, he was active throughout the Seven Years' War. In the nature of the case, most of his service has gone unrecorded, but enough is known to lend support to the belief that he was a native military genius. He bore a prominent part in the destruction of General Braddock's army in 1755, and there is contemporary evidence indicating that he planned and executed that unfortunate General's downfall.[5]

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[5] See Quaife, *Wisconsin,* I, 190.

In 1757 he emerged the victor from a battle with Major Robert Rogers' redoubtable Rangers on Lake Champlain. He shared with his Indians in the attack and massacre at Fort William Henry the same year, and 1759 found him serving at the head of 400 western warriors in the defense of Quebec.

At Quebec, de Langlade gave further evidence of his genius for war. Two brigades of General Wolfe's army, numbering 3,000 men, were landed below the Montmorency, separated by the broad St. Lawrence from the remainder of the army. While they were thus exposed, Langlade forded the Montmorency with his warriors and instantly perceiving the opportunity to cut off the detachment, held his Indians in concealment while he sent vain appeals to the commander of the Canadian troops to come to his support. The hours passed with no response, until the Indians attacked the British independently, inflicting considerable loss upon them. It was nothing, however, to what might have been done if the French had improved the opportunity Langlade had been keen enough to discover.[6]

Until 1758, the war that was being waged on a scale unexampled hitherto in America, went wholly in favor of the French. Then the masterful genius of Sir William Pitt reversed the tide of defeat, and three more years of heavy campaigning placed New France at the mercy of her conquerors. The crucial campaign of 1758 for the western country was that of General Forbes. With an army of 7,000 men he marched westward from Philadelphia across central Pennsylvania, with Fort Duquesne as his objective. Unable to dispute his advance seriously, the French defenders abandoned and burned the fort. On November 25, 1758 the British army took over the smoking ruins and renamed them Fort Pitt. Since that day the key to the upper Ohio has remained in British or American hands; this loss was the beginning of the end for the cause of New France in the western country.

Pitt had planned a double assault on Canada for 1759; by sea against Quebec and by land up the Hudson-Champlain highway against Montreal. Wolfe's success at Quebec has made his campaign famous in military annals. The dilatoriness of General Amherst in the center, however, postponed the capture of Montreal and the fall of Canada for another year. More successful was the army of Colonel Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, 5,000 strong, which was pushing westward against Fort Niagara while Amherst drove north against Montreal. To defend Niagara, Pouchot had about 600 men, but when he learned of the impending attack he summoned to his aid the levies of western Indians and Frenchmen from the interior which had been collected for the recovery of Fort Duquesne.

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[6] An inadequate account of this affair is given by Parkman in *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 217-218. Additional information is supplied in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 141-145.

The English had regularly invested the fort when these partisans, over 2,000 in number, under the command of De Lignery came down the Portage Road which parallels the course of the Niagara. Advised of their approach, Sir William Johnson (Prideaux had been killed by a bursting shell) sent several regiments which took station at La Belle Famille and awaited the French-Indian onset. The French charged furiously with characteristic *élan,* and the British regulars reserved their fire until De Lignery's men were almost upon their bayonets. Then successive volleys of musketry blasted their ranks, and in a few brief minutes all was over. The survivors fled headlong up the Portage Road, hotly pursued by British regulars and Johnson's Indian allies, leaving half their number on the field. Most of the French officers were slain or captured, and numbered among them were many whose names had long been familiar household words throughout the western country. The murmuring Niagara, close at hand, sang their death dirge as the setting July sun cast its lengthening shadows over the beautiful field of La Belle Famille.

It remained for 1760 to witness the knockout blow. Throughout the winter the British at Quebec were hotly besieged by the remaining French forces. With the opening of spring came the English fleet, and in May the French, defeated again, retired upon Montreal. Against this last remaining Canadian stronghold three converging armies were directed—

from Quebec, up the St. Lawrence, from Lake Ontario, down the great river, and from Lake Champlain to and down the Richelieu. On September 6, 1760 they effected a junction, and two days later Montreal and all Canada surrendered to General Amherst.

Three days later Major Robert Rogers, one of the most celebrated men of his time in America, was assigned the task of taking over the French posts in the Northwest. Moving with characteristic vigor, within forty-eight hours he embarked upon his difficult and dangerous mission. With 200 Royal Rangers in 15 whaleboats, he ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and traversed its northern shore to Niagara. Portaging around the rapids, he followed the old French route to Presque Isle (modern Erie) where he was joined by a small detachment of the Royal American Regiment. From Erie to Detroit the latter marched by land, driving a herd of cattle which was to be used for sustenance, while the Rangers continued along the lake shore in their boats. Near Cleveland, as Rogers subsequently related, the Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, presented himself and haughtily demanded Rogers' business and how he had dared to enter the country without first securing the chieftain's permission. The interview ended amicably enough and Pontiac even provided the English with an escort of warriors for their further journey to Detroit.[7]

November 29 found Rogers' little army encamped on the river front within half a mile of the fort. A trying situation now confronted Bellestre, the commandant. Before the arrival of Rogers he had talked bravely enough to the Indians, and had even displayed a banner unique in American annals. On it was shown a crow picking out the eyes of a man, and thus would Bellestre, as he affirmed, treat the newcomers. When Rogers sent two officers to him to require his surrender, however, he had no choice but to comply. After sixty years the flag of France was hauled down at Detroit, never to rise again.

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[7] Although Rogers' account of the interview was credited by Francis Parkman, its accuracy has been questioned by more recent historians. For a discussion of the subject see R. G. Thwaites (editor) *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), I, 105-106; Howard Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 59-62.

The advent of winter prevented the completion of Rogers' mission. The surrendered Detroit garrison was sent eastward as prisoners, while the civilian residents, having taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, were left in undisturbed possession of their homes. Detachments were sent to occupy Fort Miami (modern Fort Wayne) and Fort Ouiatanon on the Wabash, while Rogers himself pushed northward for Mackinac. The storms he encountered on Lake Huron induced him to turn back, and not until the summer of 1761 were Mackinac, Green Bay, and St. Joseph taken over.

The dominion of France over the realm we call Michigan thus came to an end eighty-nine years after its dramatic annunciation by St. Lusson at the Sault in 1671. The material results of the French occupation seem trifling enough: a few thousand settlers and mixed-bloods living in tiny settlements scattered throughout a vast extent of wilderness, among which Detroit, Michilimackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Vincennes, and the towns of the French Illinois were the more important. But the achievements of men are not to be judged solely by material standards. The French had laid the foundations of civilization in the western wilderness; in numerous ways, frequently intangible, their influence still abides. Although their gallant effort to redeem the country from savagery ended in political failure, they contributed an important element to the complex forces which have molded our American way of life.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 8

The classic account of the period is Francis Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Briefer and more recent narratives are William Wood, *Winning of Canada* (Toronto, 1914), and *The Passing of New France* (Toronto, 1914), in *The Chronicles of Canada* series; Wrong, *Rise and Fall of New France,* volume II, chapter XXVII; Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin,* chapters XIX and XX. Rupert Hughes, *George Washington* (New York, 1926), volume I, chapters IX and X is valuable for the rôle of Virginia and Washington in the war. Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamp's narrative of the Céloron expedition of 1749 is printed in the *Jesuit Relations,* LXIV, 150-199. R. G. Thwaites, *France in America* (*The American Nation Series,* volume VII, New York, 1905), chapters X-XVII, and Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin* (Boston and New York, 1895), chapters XV-XXIII supply useful, somewhat pedestrian narratives of the period. For the British occupation of Detroit, see Howard Peckham, *Pontiac and the British Uprising,* chapter 5.

CHAPTER 9

English Rule and Red Revolt
1760-1774

Hardly had the red-clad soldiers of King George III taken over their wilderness stations when from far and wide arose the muttering of red revolt. The western Indians had never regarded themselves as subjects of the King of France, and they admitted no authority in the latter to transfer their country to the King of England. Quite apart from this basic clash over conceptions of sovereignty, there were many causes of friction between the natives and the English. The latter had come into the country as conquerors, yet their actual display of military power was but slight, and the savages comprehended but dimly the numbers and might of the Empire which lay behind it.[1] The French population, recently conquered and even now in process of being crowded out of the Indian trade, had many reasons for seeking to stir up trouble between the English and the natives. Finally, the English themselves were not backward in fanning the embers of native dislike into an all-consuming flame.

In the wake of the army—frequently in advance of it—a flock of adventurers poured into the western country, eager to procure wealth by any means. Some of them, of course, were honorable men, judged by the standards of their time, but all too many were rascals of deepest dye who treated the Indians on a par with the four-footed beasts of the forest and observed no law of God or man in the Indian country.[2] Many of them were as ignorant of the Indian trade as they were avaricious of gain, and to add insult to injury they were arrogant and superior, despising the red man even while they robbed him.

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[1] Seventeen soldiers, commanded by a young lieutenant without instructions and almost wholly destitute of resources, comprised the garrison sent to Green Bay to govern all of the tribes west of Lake Michigan. See Lieutenant Gorrell's Journal in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, I, 25 *ff*.

The conduct of officialdom was little happier than that of the traders. General Amherst, head of the army in North America, set the tone for his subordinates, deeming the natives a set of wholly contemptible wretches, worthy only of extermination, and (quite mistakenly) believing them incapable of resistance. Certain officers of the Indian Department—notably Sir William Johnson and George Croghan—understood the situation better, but they proved powerless to combat the ineptitude and ignorance of the military. To their representations that the French custom of making presents to the Indians ought not to be discontinued General Amherst returned the coldly logical answer that men were to be punished for misconduct, and not bribed into the opposite.

Meanwhile the savages, no less haughty than the English themselves, viewed with growing alarm and anger the appearance in their midst of British garrisons, while over the crest of the Alleghanies poured a flood of settlers to occupy their land, destroy their game and therewith their way of life, and to expel them from the country they regarded as their own. Thus the causes for an outbreak of bloodshed and violence were distressingly numerous, and it only remained to find a suitable occasion and leader.

At such a juncture of affairs, upon the stage strode the Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, to blazon his name forever upon the history of the West. The story of his earlier career remains shrouded in the darkness of the savagery from which he sprang. Like a ship in the night he looms briefly upon the historical horizon, only to sink once more into early obscurity and an unknown grave. Probably he was a native of the Maumee region, and he may have welcomed Major Rogers to the western country in 1760, but even these outstanding incidents are of doubtful validity.

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[2] Their villainy is sharply depicted by Major Robert Rogers in his contemporary drama, *Ponteach or the Savages in America,* edited by Allan Nevins (Chicago, 1914).

As early as the summer of 1761, Captain Campbell at Detroit learned of a plot for a rising of the tribes to cut off the English garrisons. Sir William Johnson hastened to Detroit that autumn, and in a great council attended by representatives of many tribes sought to quiet the disaffection. His success was but temporary for a year and a half later widespread rebellion burst suddenly upon the surprised and dismayed army officers. The plan of Pontiac, the forest agitator, was simple and comprehensive. All of the western tribes were to be welded into one vast confederacy, and at an appointed time the garrisons, from Green Bay to Niagara and Fort Pitt, were to be surprised and destroyed. The time was set for early May, 1763, and Pontiac reserved for himself the destruction of Detroit, the most important post in the West.[3]

There ensued perhaps the greatest of all Indian wars. Throughout the entire West, from Wisconsin to Pennsylvania, the wilderness was ablaze. Save for Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt, every British post was taken, and probably 2,000 settlers in the upper Ohio Valley were slain. By one stratagem or another the minor posts were overwhelmed. At Mackinac, center of French activity for almost a century, the bemused commandant repelled every effort to warn him of his impending fate and allowed his garrison to be cut down by the expedient of the warriors rushing after a ball which had been purposely tossed over the palisades, and, once inside, supplying themselves with guns which their squaws, by prearrangement, had taken into the fort hidden under their blankets. At Detroit, Pontiac sought a council with Major Gladwin within the fort, his followers having prepared for the expected slaughter by concealing their guns, with barrels sawed off, within their blankets. But Major Gladwin, informed of the stratagem, held the entire garrison under arms in instant readiness for combat, and the baffled chieftain dared not give the signal for the massacre to begin.

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[3] Francis Parkman, classic historian of the revolt, attributes its conception and leadership wholly to Pontiac. Certain more recent historians of the period are disposed to attribute the uprising to fundamental underlying conditions and to believe the personal agency and influence of Pontiac were much less extensive than Parkman believed them to be. For the best discussion of this view see Peckham, *Pontiac*, chap. 7.

There ensued a siege unexampled in Indian annals. Repeatedly, and for months on end, the savages in vastly superior numbers assailed the town, which the calm young commander as resolutely defended. So desperate was his plight that for a time he kept the two tiny naval vessels, the *Huron* and the *Michigan,* anchored beside the fort to serve as a place of refuge in case the savages effected an entrance. But for the effective aid of these two ships, which maintained connections with Niagara and the East throughout the summer, Detroit would probably have fallen. At the end of July Captain Dalyell reached Detroit with a reinforcement of 250 redcoats, and with the valor of ignorance at once proposed to surprise and storm Pontiac's camp by night. There followed the disastrous battle of Bloody Run in which, after hours of desperate fighting, the hard-pressed survivors were glad to regain the protecting palisades of the fort.

In the end, however, Pontiac failed, as all savages must who pit their primitive brawn against the organized might of civilized nations. With the approach of winter his warriors melted away, and although the war was renewed the following spring there was no longer hope of Indian success. At Fort Pitt, as at Detroit, the siege had been maintained throughout the summer of 1763 until it was ended by the arrival of Colonel Bouquet, who succeeded in leading an army westward across Pennsylvania with desperate fighting. In 1764 Colonel Bradstreet led an army across northern Ohio as far as Detroit, where the agents of several western tribes accepted his terms of peace. The red men acknowledged the sovereignty of King George, agreed to surrender all captives and deserters to the English, and themselves to make war on any tribe which should violate the peace.

If the red diplomats had been sincere, the peace congress which Bradstreet held at Detroit would have marked the end of the conflict. No sooner had his army retired eastward, however, when the peace terms, so recently accepted, were flagrantly violated. Colonel Bouquet now led another army from Fort Pitt into central Ohio, where the sight of his grim bayonets convinced the natives of the hopelessness of further resistance. At Oswego, in 1765, Sir William Johnson convened another peace congress, which confirmed and completed the work begun by Colonel Bradstreet at Detroit in 1764. The revolt organized by Pontiac had failed, and henceforth neither red man nor Frenchman contested the dominion of Britain in North America. But a deadlier menace than these was already at hand, for by 1763 the dispute had begun between the home government and the Colonies which ended only in overt revolution and the birth of the United States.

Properly to understand this new turn of affairs we must take note of the problems which confronted Great Britain at the close of the Seven Years' War. Her many victories on land and sea—in Asia, Europe, and America—had brought her to the apex of national success, yet these very conquests imposed upon her statesmen a problem of sweeping governmental reorganization, which, at least so far as North America was concerned, they failed lamentably to solve. The original English colonies had long since developed a sturdy, semi-independent life of their own. Since 1689 they had borne their part in four great wars between France and England, and the complete success registered in the recent conquest of New France had severed the most potent tie which bound them to the home government. The war had cost the latter an enormous sum, and added to this staggering debt was the prospect of heavy continued expense which the government of Canada and the maintenance of peace in the Indian country entailed. How were these perplexing governmental obligations to be discharged?

The policy upon which all else turned was reached in the winter of 1762-63 when it was determined to maintain a permanent standing army in America to protect the newly won territory against both foreign and Indian enemies. Obviously someone must pay for its support, and reasonably enough the

American colonies were asked to bear a portion of the cost. But when the Parliament, which since the Revolution of 1688 had been the supreme authority in Great Britain, undertook to levy a tax upon the American colonies the latter objected, and after a decade of earnest constitutional and political debate the controversy was transferred to the battlefield in 1775.

From the point of view of Michigan and the western country the entire period is marked by two momentous enactments, the Proclamation of October 7, 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774. In our consideration of both, it is essential to understand that the British government itself was the far-from-perfect product of a long and more or less haphazard process of evolution, whose actions were determined more by ordinary incapacity and stupidity than by any purposeful design to tyrannize over the American colonies.

The Proclamation of 1763 was initiated by Lord Shelburne, President of the Board of Trade and one of the ablest statesmen of his time. The news of the Pontiac War came before the measure could be formulated and no action was taken upon it by the ministry until September. By this time Shelburne was out of the Cabinet and the final drafting of the measure was left in other hands. In the resultant confusion so many blunders were perpetrated that no statesman was ever subsequently found who was willing to assume responsibility for the Proclamation.

The Proclamation laid down a governmental program for North America which was to be almost completely reversed within a decade. Four new provinces were created in America, with only one of which we are directly concerned. The province of Quebec embraced all French Canada, from the ocean westward to Lake Nipissing.[4] Until a more permanent policy should be determined, all of the remainder of New France, stretching from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, was constituted a permanent Indian reserve, separated from the existing colonies by a line drawn southward along the crest of the Alleghanies. In pursuance of the underlying idea of anglicizing

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[4] The other provinces created were East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada—the latter embracing certain islands of the West Indies.

French Canada, English law and law courts were to replace the existing French system, and a representative Assembly was to initiate the establishment of popular government in Canada. The Indian country was closed to white settlement, and all trade and intercourse with the natives was to be regulated by officials who were agents of the imperial government.

The Proclamation thus expressed a clear-cut governmental program, but in the haste of issuing it many important matters of detail were left to be dealt with as circumstances should arise. Although the British government could not possibly have been ignorant of the existence in the Indian country of such communities as Detroit, Mackinac, Vincennes, and other French centers, the Proclamation blandly ignored them. Unless the population was to be evacuated—a practical impossibility—it must have some form of government. Since no civil government was provided, these old French settlements, with their intricate and far-reaching commerce, were left to the naked rule of the army. At its best, army rule bears hardly upon civilians, and at its worst it is characterized by shocking injustice and tyranny. Yet, save for certain feeble exceptions to be presently noted, army rule continued throughout all the western country until 1789, almost a full generation after the conquest of 1760.

Meanwhile the dispute between the home government and the original colonies, beginning over the issue of taxation for the support of the army, steadily assumed a wider scope, and as colonial disaffection and defiance mounted, the policy of the Ministry toward conquered Canada became more conciliatory. The Canadians had disclosed a vast lack of enthusiasm for the introduction of English law and the agencies of representative government, and in the face of the alarming developments in the old colonies the Ministry became correspondingly eager to win the good will and allegiance of the Canadians. The results of all these developments found concrete expression in the notable Quebec Act of June, 1774, which marks a milestone in the history of both Canada and the United States.

The Act made Catholicism the State Church of Canada although in England itself the civil disabilities of Catholics were to continue another seventy years. The English criminal law was retained, but in civil matters the old French feudal law was restored. The establishment of representative government was declared to be inexpedient, and the power to enact laws and organize a system of courts for the Province was vested in an executive council, whose members were appointed by the King. Finally, the Indian country north of the Ohio was wiped out by the convenient process of including within the Province of Quebec all the country westward to the Mississippi from the Ohio River on the south to the Hudson's Bay Company territory on the north.

The intent and sweeping character of the Quebec Act is suggested by these provisions. The religious measures were designed to insure the loyalty of the clergy, and the legal provisions to tie the seigniors to the Crown. These two groups—all-powerful in Canada—were expected to insure the loyalty of the mass of the people. By abandoning the policy of anglicizing the Province, the Act insured the bilingual, biracial character of Canada which still continues; it is the Magna Charta of French Canada.

But the Quebec Act essayed to accomplish far more than this. The old colonies had fought for seventy-five years to destroy the menace of New France and to obtain for themselves the western country. The Indian boundary line established in 1763 had been regarded as a temporary measure, and during the next few years the line had been pushed westward to the Ohio by successive treaties with the Indians. Now, by the extension of Quebec Province to that river, all the remainder of the western country the colonists had so hardly won was to be closed to them forever, while, under the auspices of the colonies' own government, another New France, more menacing in reality than the one they had conquered, was to arise. But for the decisive veto which the colonists themselves, by winning the Revolution, put upon this portion of the Act, the entire western country would have become a French Catholic preserve, as completely as Lower Canada itself. The intended extension of the agencies of civil government over the West was a highly beneficial measure; but that intention too was wholly negatived by the early advent of the war.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 9

The classic account of the Pontiac rebellion is Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac;* written almost a century ago, it is now outdated in certain respects. A briefer account is Thomas G. Marquis, *The War Chief of the Ottawas* (*The Chronicles of Canada* Series, Toronto, 1915). The several histories of Detroit, Michigan, and Wisconsin usually supply more or less detailed narratives of the war; for Detroit, in particular, see C. M. Burton *et al., City of Detroit . . . 1701-1922* (Chicago, 1922), volume II, chapter XXXVI. Two valuable contemporary journals kept at Detroit during portions of the siege are the "Journal or Narrative of a Conspiracy," most recently published under the editorship of C. M. Burton, entitled *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* (Detroit, 1912); and the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .* edited by F. B. Hough (Albany, 1860). Best known and most readable of all the contemporary narratives is Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between 1760 and 1776* (New York, 1809). Reprints edited by James Bain (Toronto, 1901) and by M. M. Quaife (Chicago, 1921) have since been issued. Henry was one of the very early English traders in the Northwest, who experienced the massacre of Mackinac and a subsequent Indian captivity. On the period of British rule and governmental reorganization of the western country, the monumental study is Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917). For shorter studies of the period see Louise P. Kellogg, *The British Régime in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1935), chapters I-VIII; Nelson V. Russell, *British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest* (Northfield, Minn., 1939); A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933); and Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier.* On the still controversial Quebec Act, see Burt, *Old Province of Quebec,* chapter IX; Reginald Coupland, *The Quebec Act* (Oxford, 1925); and an article by Douglas McArthur in *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), III, 21-48. (This is a twenty volume coöperative history of Canada.) On the Indian Boundary Line see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* and Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," in *American Historical Review,* X, 782-791.

CHAPTER 10

The Brothers' War
1775-1796

THE REVOLUTIONARY War was formally terminated by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, yet an inscription in bronze affixed to the Federal Building in Detroit states that here the war ended on July 11, 1796. Although not literally accurate, the inscription embodies an important historical truth which is too commonly overlooked. The formal treaty of peace was violated in various respects by both nations. Not until 1795 did the United States conquer the northwestern Indian confederacy, and until 1796 Great Britain continued her *de facto* rule over all the Great Lakes area. In this sense the transfer of Detroit and the other border forts to the American government in the summer of 1796 may be regarded as marking the close of the Revolution in the Northwest.

The real Revolution, of course, was the change in political ideas and in sentiments of loyalty which accompanied the long debate over the issue of taxation. This change progressed only gradually, nearing its logical climax with the Declaration of Independence on July 4. Before 1776 only a minor fraction of the colonists had any desire for independence. The number increased as the war progressed, but scores of thousands of colonists remained loyal to King George until the bitter end, despite persecution, confiscation of property, and exile.

Thus, the Revolution was a Brothers' War in a double sense; not only were the rebels waging war upon their government and kinsmen across the ocean, but in every colony and almost every neighborhood they were waging a bitter civil war against their own Loyalist neighbors. For over a century and a half Americans have been taught to regard with hatred and contempt those who despite heavy provocation remained loyal to their King and government. However human this attitude of the victors may be it is neither generous nor candid, and it may confidently be prophesied that the time will come when all Americans will accord to the Loyalists of the American Revolution the same respect and admiration which long since has been given the men who fought to destroy the Union in the Brothers' War of 1861 to 1865.

Although the problem of what to do with the western country constituted one of the principal causes of the Revolution, the people who lived in the West had no part in the long controversy which precipitated the struggle. The French population, only recently conquered by the English and alien in language, culture, and religion, had no particular affection for the government of King George, while toward the troublesome "Bostonians"[1] their only sentiment was one of mingled fear and loathing. They knew little, and cared less, about the merits of the quarrel between the Royal government and the seaboard colonists, and were indifferent to the issues of the war as long as it would leave them alone. But the war reached out to engulf them, and they adjusted themselves to it as best they could.

Quite different was the attitude of the commercial and official classes. The army, of course, was staunchly loyal, while the merchants, whose very presence in the country depended upon the favor of the military commandants, were likewise overwhelmingly loyal, although with certain individual exceptions.

There remains for our appraisal perhaps the most important single element in all the western country—the red man, who, since 1765, had experienced a political revolution no less sweeping than that of the "Bostonians" themselves. For while the latter were progressing from loyalty to overt rebellion, the western Indians were moving counterwise from active revolt toward satisfied submission to their British overlords. Long since they had discarded their Stone-Age arts and become professional hunters to secure the skins with which to purchase the guns, blankets, traps, and other white man's goods upon whose supply they depended for their very existence. The British traders were able to furnish these supplies to them, while the colonists were not. At the same time the menace to their existence provided by the advancing frontier, against which Pontiac had raised the hatchet in 1763, was now identified with the rebels. Considerations both of self-interest and self-preservation combined to induce the red man to support the King in the impending conflict. Thereby the spectacular and bloody rôle which Detroit enacted throughout the war became inevitably fixed upon her.

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[1] This was the designation applied by the Canadians to all the American colonists. In the Detroit area it was occasionally heard as late as the close of the nineteenth century.

Since 1763 the frontiersmen had been settling along the south side of the Ohio in western Pennsylvania and Virginia. About 1770, they began moving into central Kentucky, where by 1776 a group of promising settlements had been established. North of the Ohio the Indians reigned supreme, save for the scattered French towns. Detroit was the commercial and military center of the entire Northwest, as Fort Pitt was the military center of the American border. Between Detroit and Fort Pitt, as between Detroit and Kentucky, lay 300 miles of Ohio and Indiana wilderness whose red dwellers exercised a decisive influence upon any military expedition which might undertake to traverse it. Since they supported the British and opposed the colonists, throughout the war the former crossed it at will, while, despite repeated American efforts, the only Americans who reached Detroit arrived as prisoners of war.

The leaders on both sides appreciated the importance of controlling the West, and at the outset of the war Governor Dunmore of Virginia, who had been forced to seek refuge on a British warship, contrived with Dr. John Connolly, an enterprising loyalist and an intimate of the Governor, a far-reaching scheme to crush the rebellion in its infancy. From Kaskaskia in the

French Illinois, Captain Lord was to conduct his garrison to Detroit. From here, reinforced by the Detroit garrison and the embodied Detroit militia, the army would move upon Fort Pitt. After restoring the royal authority in western Pennsylvania, where loyalist sentiment was strong, the army would cross the mountains to Alexandria and reëstablish Governor Dunmore in control of Virginia, thereby completely severing the southern colonies from the northern. The hopeful undertaking was doomed to failure, however, when Dr. Connolly was seized and imprisoned in Maryland, while hastening westward to Detroit.

One of the objectives which animated the adoption of the Quebec Act was the establishment of civil courts and government in the Indian country. An elaborate set of instructions issued on January 3, 1775 for the guidance of Governor Carleton included directions for the appointment of lieutenant governors and the organization of civil courts at Mackinac, Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. In the confusion of the oncoming revolution, however, the only portion of this program actually executed was the appointment of Henry Hamilton and Edward Abbott as lieutenant governors at Detroit and Vincennes. Abbott's administration lasted less than a year, and his principal achievement was the erection of Fort Sackville. Hamilton's régime at Detroit, however, endured for several years, and served to fix his name permanently in the local memory.

Hamilton had been sent to Detroit as a civil administrator, but it is impossible to define the scope of his authority, and it seems fairly probable that in the confusion of the time it never was defined. At any rate he was soon assuming the most extensive authority in both civil and military affairs. Hardly had the Quebec Act been passed when steps were taken for the organization of an army of Canadians, supported by Indian contingents, to be employed in chastising the rebellious colonists.[2] It was inevitable that Great Britain should thus utilize the western Indians, and upon Governor Hamilton devolved the odious duty of organizing them to wage war upon the colonists and urging them on in the performance of their gory task.

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[2] See the correspondence of General Gage and Governor Carleton printed in Can. Arch. *Report* for 1905, III, Pt. I, 410-411, 450-452, *et seq*.

There was nothing new in such use of savage allies, and no nation in the world today would refrain from employing them. But the warfare waged by the red Indian was peculiarly horrifying and the fear and hatred it inspired throughout the American border still lives in the local memory. Quite illogically, the popular mind centered this hatred chiefly upon two men, Governor Hamilton and Simon Girty, and the latter still enjoys the evil prominence of being the most execrated character in American history. Yet both men were mere subordinates, who might have been dismissed at any moment by their superiors, and the responsibility for their conduct rests squarely upon the shoulders of the King and his Ministry in London.[3]

Apart from Indian raids upon the border—uncounted and in large part unrecorded—the war in the West resolved itself into a series of thrusts and counterthrusts wherein the numbers engaged were relatively insignificant, and the vastness of the geographical arena involved was staggering—from the shores of Lake Superior and the uppermost reaches of the Mississippi southward to the Gulf of Mexico and eastward to the crest of the Alleghanies.

So terribly was the Ohio border harried that 1777 became known as the "bloody year," and the despairing Kentucky settlers seriously contemplated the entire abandonment of the country. They were deterred from this chiefly by the daring energy of George Rogers Clark, who at this crisis became their self-elected savior. Like Lord Dunmore and Dr. Connolly, Clark comprehended the true military significance for the out-come of the Revolution of establishing control of the western country. More immediately, he saw that the only successful defense of Kentucky must be an offensive which would carry the war to Detroit, the center from which the raiding parties emanated. The narrative of his campaign to effect this object has become a familiar American classic. Too weak to advance directly upon Detroit, or even upon Vincennes, in the summer of 1778 he led a tiny Virginia army against Kaskaskia, which had remained unguarded since the recall of Captain Lord's garrison to Detroit two years earlier. Kaskaskia and French Illinois were occupied without any opposition from the French populace, and when spokesmen of the latter carried the news of these events to Vincennes, the people there followed the lead of their Illinois friends and willingly adhered to the rebel cause.

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[3] The popular hatred of Governor Hamilton throughout the western country is still periodically fanned anew by the publications of successive local historians. Yet the identical activities of Major Patrick Sinclair at Mackinac and of Col. Arent S. De Peyster at Mackinac and Detroit continue to pass unnoticed and unreviled. A recent illustration of unrestrained abuse of Governor Hamilton is afforded by Walter Havighurst, *Land of Promise. The Story of the Northwest Territory* (New York, 1946). Approximately similar narratives are supplied by George B. Catlin, *The Story of Detroit* (Detroit, 1926) and George W. Stark, *City of Destiny. The Story of Detroit* (Detroit, 1943). A pleasant and somewhat rare example of judicious treatment of the subject of Hamilton's conduct is supplied by Arthur Pound, *Detroit. Dynamic City* (New York, 1940).

The news of Clark's bloodless conquest was borne to Detroit, where Governor Hamilton immediately determined that the invasion of the Northwest must be repelled and the royal authority restored. By October 7 all was in readiness and the little army, consisting of about thirty-five British regular soldiers from the Detroit garrison, eighty Detroit militia, and sixty Indians, departed for distant Vincennes, following the ancient water route across Lake Erie and thence up the Maumee and down the Wabash. The 600-mile journey consumed 71 days, several hundred Indians joining the army as it moved southward. The residents of Vincennes renewed their allegiance to Great Britain as facilely as they had foresworn it a few weeks before, and Hamilton found himself in peaceful possession of Fort Sackville.

It was now mid-December, however, and Hamilton decided to postpone the further advance upon Kaskaskia until the following season. The delay proved fatal, for Clark, upon learning of Hamilton's movements, determined to forestall his own probable destruction in the spring by moving at once upon Vincennes. There followed the mid-winter march across the Illinois prairies and Hamilton's surrender of Fort Sackville on February 25, 1779, which today is commemorated in the imposing Clark memorial at Vincennes. Instead of rolling back the entire American frontier, which he had dreamed of doing, Hamilton was conveyed to ignominious captivity at Williamsburg, Virginia, doomed never to see Detroit again.

Although the war had not yet run half its course, a permanent stalemate had been reached in the West. In the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi areas the British remained supreme, while repeated expeditions descended from their northern stronghold to harass the American border. Clark's grip upon the Illinois country could not be shaken, however, nor could Kentucky be conquered or destroyed. Yet every effort of the Americans, whether from Kentucky or Fort Pitt, to cross the hostile Ohio wilderness to Detroit proved futile.

In the East, the war practically ended with the capture of Yorktown in 1781. In the West, however, it went on with redoubled fury throughout 1782, which became for the frontiersmen a second "bloody" year. It opened with the infamous butchery, by the borderers themselves, of several scores of Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten. There followed the sorry American invasion of Ohio led by Colonel Crawford, terminating in the dispersal of his army by the Indians and a force of Detroit Rangers, and the unfortunate Colonel's own ghastly death by torture at the hands of the infuriated red men. Still later Captain Caldwell invaded Kentucky at the head of a British-Indian army, and, in the battle of the Blue Licks on August 19, dealt the Americans an overwhelming defeat.[4] It proved to be the last campaign of the war, for with peace at hand the British were indisposed, and the Americans unable, to engage in further military activity.

Two incidental consequences of the war which are still of interest in Michigan may be noted in closing. The old town of Detroit on the river-front was commanded by a hill across the little Savoyard River, in the vicinity of present-day Fort Street. The capture of Governor Hamilton at Vincennes induced the fear that a rebel army would presently arrive at Detroit, where a cannon or two planted on the hill overlooking the town would place the latter at the mercy of the invaders. To forestall this the British made haste to erect a new fort there, and later to connect it with the existing town and fort by lines of palisades, thereby greatly enlarging the fortified area. Present-day Fort Street, the center of Detroit's financial district, preserves the memory of the new fortification, which was named Fort Lernoult. At Mackinac, induced by the same fear of an American invading army, the commandant abandoned the mainland fort and town on the site of Mackinaw City, to establish on Mackinac Island the fort which is still to be seen there.

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[4] On the anniversary of the battle the people of Kentucky still gather annually in impressive numbers to mourn their fallen heroes. Although the numbers engaged were small, no other battle in Kentucky's history is so deeply engraved upon the local public memory.

Meanwhile, in far away Paris the diplomats were toiling over the treaty of peace, which was finally concluded in 1783. For Great Britain it marked the end of a roseate dream, cherished for decades, of unbounded wealth to be derived from the western country. In 1760, Great Britain had conquered this country, but the ensuing years had brought only administrative headaches, fiscal deficits, red revolt, and white rebellion. Some or all of these factors, reinforced by the natural desire to win back her former colonies from their recent alliance with France, undoubtedly prompted the surprising liberality of England's spokesmen in agreeing to terms of peace which conceded the western country to the new United States, with a line drawn through the middle of the Great Lakes to and down the Mississippi as its northern and western boundary.

Thus by the sharp arbitrament of war the Northwest was taken from the province of Quebec and given to the new American nation. But sharp disillusionment for the latter promptly followed. Even before the final conclusion of the treaty the surrender of such posts as Niagara and Detroit had been generally anticipated, and on July 4, 1783 Major Ephraim Douglass appeared in Detroit as spokesman of the new nation to inform the western Indians of America's desire to establish harmonious relations with them. Although the chiefs of eleven tribes were present in the city, Douglass was not permitted to confer with them. The Indian trade was still the major commercial support of Canada, and the Montreal merchants, who, as a consequence of the war, had achieved a dominant control over this trade, and who feared their control would be lost if the boundaries for which the Treaty made provision were conceded to America, induced Governor Haldimand of Quebec to refrain from evacuating the line of posts which commanded the Great Lakes from the Thousand Islands westward. His refusal was presently upheld by the Ministry at home, and year succeeded year with the British government still exercising *de facto* rule over the Northwest as an outlying part of the province of Quebec.[5] Meanwhile, the contemplated extension of civil government over the West had perished stillborn amid the throes of the Revolution, and army rule continued to afflict the land.

Escape from this intolerable situation at length came through the influence of the despised Loyalists, thousands of whom, at the close of the war, had found refuge and new homes in the unoccupied portions of Canada. The newcomers settled along the northern shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, westward as far as Detroit. Familiar with the rights of Englishmen and with the institutions of popular government in the old colonies, they had no thought of submitting to the deprivation of these things, or to the ancient French feudal law which prevailed in Quebec. Their very loyalty gave added force to their clamor to the government for relief, and since most of the motives for passing the Quebec Act had vanished with the war, there was no particular reason for upholding the Act.

In 1788, therefore, the Governor established four executive districts, to be organized on the English county plan for the government of the new settlements. Westernmost of the four was the District of Hesse, embracing all the country from Long Point on Lake Erie indefinitely west, northwest, and southwest to the Hudson's Bay Company territory and the limits of British dominion. Since practically all of the white population of the District dwelt along the Detroit River, in effect, the District of Hesse provided a local government of the county type for the Detroit River area. Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and other subordinate courts were created, and William Dummer Powell, an able attorney of Montreal, was appointed as judge over all of them.[6] The offices of sheriff and clerk of the court completed the local organization, which began functioning actively with the arrival of Judge Powell in 1789.

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[5] As excuse, the Ministry charged that the American government had not fulfilled the obligations it had assumed with respect to the restoration of property belonging to the Loyalists, and to the collection of debts owed to British merchants. Probably another motive was a reluctance to abandon wholly their former red allies to the mercy of the Americans.

So it came about that after twenty-nine years of army rule Detroit and the adjacent Northwest obtained the beginnings of civil government as expressed in its new courts and their officials. But the organization of the four administrative Districts was but the initial step toward popular government, and in response to the continued clamor of the English-speaking element, the Canada Constitutional Act of 1791 was enacted. This Act divided Quebec Province by the line of the Ottawa River into the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, thereby foreshadowing present-day Quebec and Ontario. Lower Canada contained most of the French population, while Upper Canada embraced practically all of the new English-speaking settlements. For Upper Canada, the Act created a framework of government on the historic English model, having a lieutenant governor endowed with ample executive authority, an appointive Legislative Council, and an Assembly elected by the voters.

To John Graves Simcoe, first Lieutenant Governor of the Province, fell the task of putting the new governmental machinery into operation. He was a product of Eton and Oxford who, during the American Revolution, had commanded a body of Loyalists known as the Queen's Rangers. He was endowed with a strong will and an aggressive disposition which fitted him for executive responsibility. He entertained, however, a vast distaste for Yankee leveling notions and a corresponding admiration for the existing government of England, which, of course, had not been modified as yet by the influences of the French Revolution and the great reforms of 1832 and subsequent years. By executive proclamation he created nineteen counties, endowing them with the old English place names which still adorn the map of Ontario. To the river Thames he gave its present name, and at its forks he planned to locate the capital of the Province, on which he bestowed the name of London. Although Canadians honor him with the title of "Father" of the Province, his mind admitted no room for governmental progress, and his attitude toward the United States in the difficult period of its infancy gave slight hint of statesmanlike vision or understanding.

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[6] Except for the Court of Quarter Sessions, which was composed of eight justices of the peace, meeting four times yearly.

The new Province, of course, replaced the earlier districts, and in 1794 Detroit lost her judge and Common Pleas Court through a reorganization of the judiciary. Meanwhile, the new counties had been organized, and in 1792 Michigan's first popular election was held to choose the local representatives to the Assembly of the Parliament of Upper Canada. The two westernmost counties were Kent and Essex, between which the Detroit River settlements were divided. Kent included all of Upper Canada not included in the eighteen counties, with a probable area of a million or more square miles. But its actual population was confined to Detroit and the farms adjacent on the same side of the river, together with the settlers on the present Canadian shore from Sandwich eastward to the mouth of the Thames. Two representatives had been assigned to Kent County and one to Essex. Although the franchise was severely limited, the election was marked by most of the hullabaloo and demagogic aspects characteristic of subsequent popular electoral contests. The dominant importance of the Detroit River settlement in the new Parliament is illustrated by the fact that three of the sixteen Assemblymen and three of the five Legislative Councillors came from this area.

But British dominion over Michigan was weakening fast, and for its people still another change in government and in national allegiance was at hand. Resolutely the new American government under the leadership of President Washington proceeded with its task of asserting its sovereignty over the northwestern Indians and terminating the rule of England within the borders established by the treaty of 1783. The course of events on the continent of Europe served to second the American effort powerfully, and Great Britain at length agreed anew to withdraw her garrisons from American territory. In the summer and autumn of 1796, the transfer of the posts was effected, and south of the border from Mackinac to the Thousand Islands, the Union Jack gave place to the banner of America. The fuller story of this development will be the theme of our succeeding chapter.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 10

The *Mich. Pioneer Colls.* contain a vast number of original documents about the Revolution in the Northwest; see especially volumes IX, X, XI, and XII. The important recitals by Governor Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark of their respective rôles in the struggle are assembled by M. M. Quaife in *The Capture of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1927). The *George Rogers Clark Papers,* edited by James A. James, have been published as volumes VIII and XIX of the *Illinois State Historical Collections.* The standard life of Clark is by the same scholar. B. W. Bond, *Foundations of Ohio* (Columbus, 1941), chapter VIII; Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio* (New York, 1912), volume II, chapters I-XVIII; Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana* (New York, 1922), volume I, chapters II-IV; Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* chapters XIV-XVII; and Kellogg, *British Régime in Wisconsin,* chapters IX-XII present the story of the Revolûtion from the point of view local to these several states. M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), chapter IV supplies perhaps the most convenient summary narrative of the northwestern military campaigns. See also the same writer's *Lake Michigan,* chapters IX-X. William Wood, *The Father of British Canada* (Toronto, 1916) and W. Stewart Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists* (Toronto, 1914) (both in *The Chronicles of Canada* Series) supply shorter accounts of the Revolution and its aftermath as seen from the Canadian point of view. For the period of British rule following 1783 see William R. Riddell, *Life of William Dummer Powell* (Lansing, 1924) and the same author's *Michigan Under British Rule. Laws and Law Courts 1760-1796* (Lansing, 1926). See also Burt, *Old Province of Quebec,* especially chapter XIV and Russell, *British Régime in Michigan.* For the British effort to preserve the Northwest as a permanent Indian reserve see the article of Orpha Leavitt in Wisconsin State Historical Society *Proceedings* for 1915, pp. 151-185, entitled "British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782-92; Mediation and an Indian Barrier State." The following monographs by M. M. Quaife deal with varying aspects of the period covered in the present chapter: "Detroit and George Rogers Clark," *Indiana History Bulletin,* V, extra No. 2; "Detroit Battles; The Blue Licks," *Burton Hist. Coll. Leaflet,* VI, No. 2; "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky," *B. H. C. Leaflet,* IV, No. 2; "Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes," *B. H. C. Leaflet,* II, No. 5; "Commodore Alexander Grant," *B. H. C. Leaflet,* VI, No. 5, "Two Captives of Old Detroit," *B. H. C. Leaflet,* V, No. 5; "The Ohio Campaigns of 1782," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XVII, 1-14. For a vivid picture of contemporary conditions see the Journal of Henry Hay, printed as "Fort Wayne in 1790," Indiana Historical Society *Publications,* VII, No. 7.

CHAPTER 11

The Americans Arrive

1787-1805

THE CLIMAX DRAMATICALLY signalized in the replacement of the Union Jack by the American Flag at Detroit on July 11, 1796 had been in course of preparation for many years. The fumbling efforts of King George's ministers to create an acceptable form of government in America in the years following the conquest of New France had ended in dismal failure, driving the colonies into a rebellion which led directly to the birth of the United States. But the problem of how to govern the West was not thereby escaped. Instead, it remained to vex the leaders of the new nation, and their successful solution of it, worked out during the stormy years of the Revolution, still remains one of America's most brilliant political achievements.

Thirteen separate colonies entered the rebellion in 1775, to emerge in 1789 as one irrevocable Union, to which they had been driven by common necessities and the logic of events. Such problems as the military defense of the colonies against the King and the administration of Indian relations obviously called for common action, and hand in hand with the prosecution of the war went the task of organizing a single general government. This was not completed until 1781, and the earlier lack of a common government served to multiply the problems faced by General Washington and to prolong the duration of the war.

The long delay in adopting the Articles of Confederation was chiefly occasioned by the dispute over the disposition of the western lands. Seven of the states[1] had sea-to-sea charters or other pretensions to the country west of the Alleghanies. The six remaining states[2] had no such claims. Quite humanly they feared that once independence was achieved by the common effort of all the states they would find themselves overshadowed by their more powerful neighbors. Fundamentally, it will be seen, the issue was whether the new Union should be one of equal states, or whether it should be composed of highly unequal members. In the debates, the spokesmen of Maryland, in particular, championed the former conception, stubbornly refusing to accede to the Confederation until the states having western land claims should agree to cede them to the general government for the common benefit and enjoyment of all.

Perhaps the most extensive and least substantial of all the claims to the western country was that of New York. In 1780 her spokesmen led the way by announcing her readiness to yield the disputed issue. In October, 1780 therefore, the Continental Congress passed a momentous resolution, pledging itself that the lands which any state might cede to the common government would be disposed of for the common benefit, and be erected into new states which should become members of the Union with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the existing states themselves possessed. This is the great political discovery which made possible the birth and present development of our country, and the lack of which spelled the doom of the old British Empire. Instead of colonies in permanent political dependency, administered wholly with an eye to the benefit of the parent state, the new conception regarded them as minors undergoing a temporary tutelage and guardianship in preparation for the political independence and self-government they would gain as soon as their circumstances should permit.

Connecticut followed the example of New York in ceding her western claims, but the decisive step in the process waited the action of Virginia, which alone had made good her paper title to the western country by the solid achievements of settling Kentucky and waging Clark's war in its defense. Added to these considerations were the facts that Virginia was perhaps the most influential of all the states and her western land claims, based on her early charters, were among the most extensive of any. Upon the announcement of her decision, Maryland's spokesmen, confident that the remaining states would follow suit, yielded their objections to entering the Confederation and the Articles became effective on March 1, 1781.

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[1] Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

[2] New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

Thus the United States acquired, coincident with its birth, a western colonial domain and, at the same time, adopted a revolutionary permanent principle for its further political development.[3] Meanwhile, with the war drawing to its close and independence in sight, the discussion of concrete plans for the organization of the West began. In Washington's camp at Newburg were hundreds of soldiers who, through devotion for years to the tasks of war, had lost their former employment, or their property, and who now faced the prospect of beginning civil life anew under these heavy economic handicaps. Many of them had arrears of pay which the bankrupt government could not discharge, and the western country—now the property of the nation they had created—offered an escape from their present difficulties and an opportunity to begin life anew. In the spring of 1783, a group of army officers drew up a project, known as the Pickering plan, for founding a colony in the West which should be capable of defending itself against the Indians and which should have a constitution that called for immediate admission to statehood.

Although the Pickering plan was never put into execution, its details are instructive as showing the contemporary trend of thought on the subject of organizing the Northwest. The following year (1784) Thomas Jefferson fathered a project in which he proposed to divide the entire West (both north and south of the Ohio) into sixteen states.[4] Instead of immediate admission to statehood, however, temporary governments were to be established until the population of any subdivision should reach 20,000 persons, when Congress would authorize them to frame a constitution and admit them to statehood. Although this Ordinance was enacted by Congress on April 2, 1784, no further action to put it into effect was taken.

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[3] The last state to cede its western land claim to the general government was Georgia, in 1802. Save for Connecticut's reservation of a tract of land south of Lake Erie extending 120 miles westward from the western border of Pennsylvania —still known as the Western Reserve—title to all of the West lying north of the Ohio River had been vested in Congress by 1786.

Already, however, the two main ideas underlying the American colonial system had been evolved: a temporary government under the authority of the parent-nation, followed, as soon as circumstances should render practicable, by admission to the Union on a basis of equality with the existing states. During the next two years much discussion ensued, both in and out of Congress, over the organization of the West. Constructive action was finally precipitated by a group of New England men, some of whom had participated in the discussions at Newburg in 1783.

On March 3, 1786 they assembled in the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston and organized the Ohio Company of Associates. General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel Parsons, and Reverend Manasseh Cutler were chosen directors of the Company, and plans were laid for founding a colony on the Ohio at the junction of the Muskingum. A year later, Cutler, as spokesman visited Philadelphia and laid the Company's desires before Congress. The prospect of receiving real money in return for some of its wilderness real estate led Congress to comply readily with the proposals of the New Englanders, and on July 13 the famous Ordinance of 1787, which still remains one of America's great state papers, was enacted—almost the last act of the dying Confederation Congress.

The Ordinance created a single territorial government for the entire region north of the Ohio. Its principal officers were to be a governor, three judges, and a secretary, all appointed by the

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[4] In the event Georgia and South Carolina should retain their western claims, the number was to be fourteen.

Congress.[5] The secretary's functions were chiefly clerical. The governor's executive powers were extensive, and in addition, he shared with the three judges the power of legislating for the Territory.[6] The judges combined with their legislative functions the chief judicial authority of the Government. When a population of 5,000 males of voting age was attained, a bicameral legislature was to be set up, consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Representatives. Members of the latter were elected by the voters; members of the Legislative Council—five in number—were to be chosen by Congress (later, by the President) from a list of ten men nominated by the House of Representatives. By limiting the franchise to persons owning a fifty-acre freehold, and by requiring the territorial officials to be owners of a large quantity of land, the Ordinance sought to keep the government in the hands of the more conservative class, and to insure on the part of the officeholders a real interest in the welfare of the Territory.

Such, briefly outlined, was the scheme of government which, save for occasional minor modifications, was to prevail in all the states of the Old Northwest prior to their admission to statehood. The people were probably never really satisfied with their government in any Territory, but on the whole this governmental plan functioned as well, perhaps, as any scheme that could have been devised. The system safeguarded the national interests during the period of territorial infancy, and at the same time held out to the people the prospect of complete self-government as soon as they should be strong enough to undertake the task of shaping their own destiny.

But the fame of the Ordinance as a great state document rests in large part on a series of provisions yet to be described. The Ordinance guaranteed to the people of the Territory such familiar rights of Englishmen as the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. Freedom of religious belief and worship, a thing still unknown over large portions of the earth, was forever guaranteed. Slavery was prohibited, and freedom of use of the navigable waters by all citizens of the United States was provided. The Territory was to remain forever a part of the United States, and the boundaries of not less than three nor more than five future states to be carved from it were indicated. Finally, a twenty-four-word declaration laid the foundation for the schools which today make of the Old Northwest one of the more enlightened areas on the globe.[7]

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[5] Following the adoption of the new national Constitution, creating the office of President of the United States, the appointive power became vested in that official.

[6] Until the establishment of a territorial legislature, the governor and judges might adopt for the Territory any laws found in any of the existing states of the Union.

The complement of the Ordinance was the sale by Congress to the Company of 1,500,000 acres of land on the Ohio. Agents were promptly sent to the upper Ohio to build vessels for descending the river, and in the spring of 1788 the first contingent of settlers voyaged in the *Mayflower* to the mouth of the Muskingum and there—across the river from Fort Harmar—established the town of Marietta, marking the beginning of American settlement of the Northwest under the Ordinance of 1787.

The native inhabitants, who, although active allies of Great Britain, were not consulted in making the treaty of 1783, remained to be reckoned with, and their determined resistance had to be overcome before the Northwest could be settled. As early as January 21, 1785 a treaty was concluded at Fort McIntosh on the Ohio between the United States and certain chiefs who presumed to represent several of the northwestern tribes. Peace was agreed upon, and the Indians accepted the protectorate of the United States. A large section of northern Ohio extending westward from the Cuyahoga River was recognized as belonging to the Indians, and the region to the east, south, and west of this tract was conceded to the United States. The tribes concerned repudiated the treaty however, and the state of war continued. On January 9, 1789 at Fort Harmar opposite Marietta, Governor St. Clair concluded a second treaty whose terms substantially repeated those contained in the treaty made at Fort

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[7] "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

McIntosh four years before. Again the tribesmen repudiated the agreement, and, in 1790, began active war upon the settlers.

Forced thus to defend the settlers, President Washington entered upon what proved to be a five-year war. In the autumn of 1790, General Harmar led an army from Fort Washington, recently established on the site of present-day Cincinnati, against the towns on the upper Maumee (where the city of Fort Wayne subsequently developed). Two sharp battles were fought with indecisive results, and the army returned to Fort Washington, having totally failed in its objective of subduing the hostile confederation.

The task was now assigned to Governor St. Clair, who, in the autumn of 1791, led a second army northward from Fort Washington. From beginning to end the campaign was sadly mismanaged, with the result that, in the early morning of November 4, the army was assailed in its camp and utterly defeated. Several hundred soldiers were slain, and the panic-stricken survivors fled southward thirty miles to the shelter of Fort Jefferson.

A third effort to conquer the Northwest must be made, and this time President Washington appointed General Anthony Wayne to the task. Despite his nickname of "Mad Anthony," Wayne devoted almost two years to the fashioning of an army fit to cope with the Indian foe, at the same time slowly pushing a line of forts northward from Cincinnati. Late in 1793, Fort Recovery, on the site of St. Clair's defeat, was built and named. At the end of June, 1794, its garrison beat off a desperate two-day assault, whose failure so discouraged the attackers that most of the Michigan Indians went home, leaving the Ohio and Indiana tribesmen to their fate.

At last, with everything in readiness, Wayne moved northward from his headquarters at Greenville, following the route of the Au Glaize River to the Maumee, where he built and named Fort Defiance, the grim name advertising his contempt for both Indian and British foemen. After a final effort to persuade the red men to accept terms of peace had failed, he resumed his advance down the Maumee toward Lake Erie. At

Fallen Timbers (near present Maumee City) on August 20, a decisive victory was won over the now despairing red men, who vainly sought refuge within the walls of near-by British Fort Miamis.[8]

The victory of Fallen Timbers practically ended the war. To complete his conquest, Wayne moved up the Maumee to its head-waters where he built and garrisoned Fort Wayne, and then retired to Greenville to await the arrival of the Indian diplomats begging for terms of peace. The following summer several hundred red men trooped in, and the tedious negotiations were concluded on August 3, 1795, by the signing of the Treaty of Greenville.

In the main it repeated the provisions of the Fort McIntosh Treaty of 1785, but this time the red spokesmen, thoroughly humbled, signed in earnest. The famous Greenville Treaty Line was drawn, running from the mouth of Kentucky River northward to Fort Recovery, thence eastward to the site of old Fort Laurens near present Canton, Ohio, and from here northward down the Cuyahoga to Lake Erie. All land to the south and east of this line, comprising roughly the eastern and southern three-fourths of present-day Ohio, was conceded to the United States. To all the remainder of the Northwest, save for the existing French-British settlements and certain strategic water routes with the intervening portage sites connecting them, the Indian title was recognized. This concession eventually required the United States to quiet the Indian title by the long series of treaties subsequently entered into with the various tribes, but this matter could safely be left to the future; by the Greenville cession, the white man had obtained as much of the Northwest as he immediately desired.

While Anthony Wayne was thus engaged in conquering the western Indians, John Jay at London was negotiating the important treaty which bears his name. The successful establishment of the new American government in 1789, followed by the outbreak of the French Revolutionary wars in Europe a little later, worked together to induce the British Ministry to reconsider its policy in North America. The folly of goading the United States to war while Britain was engaged in the Continental upheaval was self-evident. In short, everything conspired to induce the Ministry to settle amicably the many grounds of discord between America and Britain, and so the treaty was concluded.

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[8] The establishment of this fort in the spring of 1794 had been dictated by the ear that Wayne's real objective was Detroit, which could be successfully defended nly by making common cause with the Indian confederacy. The establishment f this fort, which constituted a new advance into American territory, greatly rritated President Washington.

Among other things, it provided for the evacuation of the British posts within the borders of the United States by June 1, 1796. The date arrived before the American army was ready to take the forts over, and so the actual transfers were made at various times, ending with that of Mackinac on September 1. At both Fort Miamis and Detroit the American army took possession on July 11, 1796 and this day, as well as any, may be regarded as the natal day of American rule in Michigan and all the Great Lakes area, although around Lake Superior and west of Lake Michigan British influence was to remain dominant for another quarter of a century.

On July 27, 1796 General Wayne and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory, left Greenville for Detroit. Here Wayne remained for several weeks while he was engaged in the task of reorganizing the United States Army, whose headquarters for the time being were at Detroit. Meanwhile Sargent, as Acting Governor, on August 15 proclaimed the erection of Wayne County with boundaries embracing most of present-day Michigan, besides large portions of Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.[9] During the succeeding weeks the courts were organized, and local judicial and other officers were appointed.

The change of allegiance from one government to another is attended by many difficulties and individual griefs, and Detroit had its full share of these during the ensuing years. Many of the leading citizens had no desire to become Americans, and their removal to the south (now become the Canadian) side of the river was the cause of numerous important changes in both business and social circles. Eventually, of course, these things were accomplished, and the rule of the United States was completely established.

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[9] The sites of Detroit, Green Bay, Milwaukee, Chicago, Fort Wayne, Toledo, Akron, and as much of Cleveland as lies west of Cuyahoga River were all embraced within the original limits of Wayne County.

Meanwhile, a census of the Northwest Territory taken in 1798 disclosed a population sufficiently large for the establishment of a Territorial legislature, and in 1799 the Territory entered upon the second stage, with Cincinnati as the seat of government. Wayne County was found to be entitled to three members of the new Assembly, and in December, 1798, the first American election was held in Detroit.[10] With characteristic American spirit, James May, the defeated candidate, contested the election of Solomon Sibley, his opponent. But Sibley held on to the office, and in January, 1802, at Chillicothe (to which place the Territorial capital had been removed), he procured the passage of an act, effective October 1, 1802, incorporating the town of Detroit.

The act created a board of five trustees, to which general powers of local legislation were entrusted. In addition to the board, provision was made for an assessor, collector, town marshal, and other necessary officials. The government thus organized functioned for three and one-half years, when it was quietly discarded by the board of governor and judges of Michigan Territory, whose establishment must now command our attention.

The evolution of the southeastern portion of the Northwest Territory into the State of Ohio was prolonged and painful. Here, however, we need only note that on May 7, 1800, Congress divided the one existing Territory into two by a line approximately identical with the present Ohio-Indiana boundary prolonged northward to Canada. To Indiana Territory, with its capital at Vincennes, was assigned all of the Old Northwest lying west of this line, while all lying east of the line continued as the Northwest Territory. Thus Wayne County was divested of its vast westward area, while present-day Michigan was about evenly divided between the two Territories. Practically all the white inhabitants, however, were living in the area east of the Territorial dividing line, so that for the time being the erection of Indiana Territory produced no particular governmental change affecting the people of Michigan.

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[10] For some reason only one Assemblyman was chosen at this time; the remaining two were chosen in a second election, held January 15, 1799.

Quite otherwise, however, were the consequences which followed the admission of Ohio to statehood early in 1803, with practically its present boundaries.[11] The act which authorized the formation of a state government for Ohio extended the boundaries of Indiana Territory over all the remainder of the former Northwest Territory. The people of Detroit, who had always regarded Vincennes as a remote and relatively minor satellite of their own community, were dismayed to discover that it had now become their capital. A more solid reason for dissatisfaction lay in the fact that after having tasted the sweets of popular elections and representative government as a part of Northwest Territory, they now found themselves deprived of these things; and while the people of Ohio were passing from the second stage of territorial government to full statehood they themselves were relegated once more to the first stage of rule by the governor and judges. Although Indiana soon passed to the second stage of government, when the first Territorial election was held on September 11, 1804, to choose members of the Assembly, Wayne County had no share in it because the Governor's proclamation announcing the election arrived in Detroit only after the election was over.

Obviously no government seated at Vincennes, separated from Detroit by several hundred miles of wilderness, could function satisfactorily in Michigan, and petitions went from Detroit to Congress seeking the establishment of a separate territorial government. Remarkably enough, that body responded promptly, all things considered, and on January 11, 1805, the act creating Michigan Territory was passed, to become effective "from and after" June 30 following.

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[11] Save for the Toledo strip, subsequently the occasion of violent altercation between Ohio and Michigan.

The new Territory was bounded on the south by the Ordinance line of 1787, running due eastward from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan. On the west the boundary ran through the middle of that lake to its northern outlet, and thence by a north line to Canada. In other words, the new Territory, as it existed from 1805 to 1818, included the present-day Lower Peninsula, together with that portion of the Upper Peninsula extending eastward from Mackinac to the international boundary. Detroit was, of course, the capital, and the frame of government was the one prescribed in the Ordinance of 1787, with whose terms we are already familiar. After a century of buffeting about as a remote hinterland of such capitals as Quebec, Niagara, Marietta, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Vincennes, Detroit was at last to become the seat of government—with what consequences we shall presently see.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Chapter 11

Bond, *Foundations of Ohio,* chapters IX-XI and Randall and Ryan, *History of Ohio,* volume II supply detailed narratives of the period of American conquest, governmental organization, and early settlement of the Northwest Territory, of which Michigan was a part. The older, standard account of the period is B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest . . .* (revised edition; Boston, 1899). A convenient popular narrative, devoted especially to the Ordinance of 1787, is *History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory,* issued by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission (Marietta, 1937). On the military conquest of the Northwest, 1790-96, see the several state histories (Randall and Ryan, *Ohio,* Bond, *Ohio,* Esarey, *Indiana,* Theodore Pease, *The Frontier State* (Springfield, Ill., 1918), and Quaife, *Wisconsin*); see also Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* chapter V; Elmore Barce, *Land of the Miamis* (Fowler, Ind., 1922); Hatcher, *Lake Erie,* chapter VI; Kellogg, *British Régime in Wisconsin,* chapters XII-XIII. The many treaties negotiated between the United States government and the Indian tribes are assembled in *U. S. Statutes at Large,* volume VII. For clarifying maps and an exhaustive monograph on the subject of the cessions see C. C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions,* published as 18th Annual Report of American Bureau of Ethnology (1896-97) and as 56 Congress, 1 Session, House Documents, volume 118. The monumental *Territorial Papers of the U. S.* edited by Clarence E. Carter, volumes II and III, supply many original documents dealing with the development of the Northwest Territory from 1787 to 1803. Volume VII of the same series, devoted to Indiana Territory, covers the period (1803-05) when present-day Michigan belonged to that Territory. For excellent depictions of the western Indians in this period, see M. M. Quaife (editor) *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century* (*The Lakeside Classics Series,* Chicago, 1947).

CHAPTER 12

Territorial Infancy
1805-1816

ALTHOUGH THE BILL creating Michigan Territory was enacted January 11, 1805, it became effective only "from and after" June 30, thereby permitting time for the President to appoint territorial officials, and the latter to journey to their distant station. On March 1, President Jefferson named William Hull of Massachusetts, Governor; Stanley Griswold of New Hampshire, Secretary; Augustus B. Woodward of Washington, Frederick Bates of Virginia, and Samuel Huntington of Ohio, Judges. Huntington declined the appointment and John Griffin of Indiana Territory was named in his place. Bates, who resigned in November, 1806, to accept a government appointment in Missouri, was succeeded by James Witherell of Vermont.

These men proved tenacious holders of office,[1] and, until the general upheaval produced by the War of 1812, they dominated the public life of Michigan. All were, of course, political supporters of the President, and some of them were his personal friends as well. Governor Hull had achieved both military and civil success in New England, and one can only wonder why he left his eastern home to embark upon the hazardous career of territorial governor in a strange and distant region. Although he was a high-minded man, he achieved scant popularity in Michigan, and ended his career in utter military failure. In Judge Witherell he found a firm and pugnacious ally, and throughout his administration as Governor these officials were commonly pitted against the two remaining judges in what frequently constituted a hopeless deadlock.

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[1] Governor Hull served until the British conquest of Michigan in 1812; Griswold's tenure was terminated by the same event. Woodward and Griffin served until 1824 and Witherell—as Judge and Territorial Secretary—until 1830.

It was Governor Hull's misfortune to have as a colleague in the territorial quadrumvirate one of the most amazing men America has yet produced. Judge Woodward possessed a remarkable intellect which ranged widely over almost every conceivable subject, but he was stubborn and cantankerous and singularly devoid of ordinary everyday common sense. He promptly arrogated to himself the rank of chief justice, although neither the Ordinance of 1787 nor the Michigan Territorial Act had created such an office, and for almost twenty years he played the rôle of phrenetic gadfly to his governmental colleagues. In Judge Griffin, a peripatetic officeholder of rather less than mediocre intellectual capacity and will power, he found a constant disciple. To the end of his administration, Governor Hull was continually badgered by the domineering Judge, supported by his humble man Friday; the resulting situations were frequently far from edifying, yet the governmental scene afforded other aspects which more than compensated for these defects.

For, despite all his eccentricities, Judge Woodward was an unusually brilliant man and his influence still abides in Michigan. The governmental problems which the administrators of the new Territory faced were both numerous and complex, and their solution called for a high order of boldness and intellectual capacity. Since 1760, Detroit had known but little of orderly civil government, and even the very land titles were in a hopeless state of uncertainty and confusion. An entire generation had been compelled to live as best it might deprived of most of the agencies of law and order and habituated to shocking scenes of violence and depravity. "The inhabitants of this place," wrote a thoughtful Detroiter in 1799, "have lived for many years past in a state of licentious freedom, nor can they now bear to be checked. Nothing but a more severe law can bring them to order." [2]

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[2] Patrick McNiff to Solomon Sibley, quoted in C. M. Burton, *City of Detroit,* I, 282.

The white population was still predominantly French in race and culture, and almost wholly inexperienced in the art of self-government; and the Anglo-Saxon minority was sharply divided between American and British loyalties, with many fondly looking forward to the restoration of British rule.[3] Within easy distance ran an international border which had been established less than a decade before, and the residents of the Canadian shore were as much a part of the Detroit community, in all save the item of national allegiance, as were the people of Detroit itself. To pile Ossa upon Pelion, on June 11, 1805 the city was utterly destroyed by fire and the new territorial rulers arrived to find the inhabitants living as best they might on the bounty of the adjoining farmers or in tents and other rude shelters on the Commons.

Although the fire was an appalling present disaster, for the future city it proved a heaven-sent benefaction. The century-old town, built as compactly as a mediaeval city, had vanished from earth, and Judge Woodward was the one person above all others in America to take instant advantage of the opportunity to develop on the site a new and model city. The dreamer who, a decade later, could plan a university with sixty-three departments of learning for a Territory having a total white population of less than 8,000 souls and the majority of them illiterate, saw in burned-down Detroit a future metropolis, destined to become one of the leading cities of the "terraqueous globe." A great evil of most Old World cities, he rightly observed, was the neglect to plan adequately in advance for their development. So the townsmen were induced to postpone rebuilding operations until suitable authority could be obtained from Congress to lay out a new city upon an adequate and model plan.

At the cost of much current delay and economic distress, Woodward's plan was followed. Congress created a Land Board and gave to it the Ten Thousand Acre Tract. From Judge Woodward's fertile brain came the plan of a city with radiating 200-foot wide avenues, circles, and other open spaces, all capable of indefinite repetition as the growth of the City should require its expansion landward.[4] Although men of lesser vision eventually wrecked the magnificent conception, the ruined remnant of the Woodward Plan which may be seen south of Adams Avenue still gives to Detroit whatever of distinction the City possesses; while the millions of dollars demanded to provide adequate traffic arteries outside the center of the City afford vivid evidence of the folly of discarding Judge Woodward's unique plan for the orderly development of Detroit.

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[3] As late as the summer of 1812 William Forsyth, a well-known citizen, "was so overjoyed that he could hardly speak" over the spectacle of the appearance of General Brock's army in Detroit. See *The John Askin Papers,* II, 718-719.

Along with the many minor problems of current public concern, the Governor and Judges wrestled with the tasks of city building and establishing land titles. To every land holder in the old town was awarded an equivalent holding in the new one, after which every resident of seventeen years of age and older was given gratis a "donation" lot, whose immediate value was more or less problematical.[5] But everyone was alert to the value of the farm lands outside the city, most of which had originally been acquired as feudal grants from the Crown of France, two or three generations earlier. The passage of time and the two changes of national government had produced confusion and uncertainty concerning the validity of the titles of the present occupants. To remedy the situation Congress empowered the Governor and Judges, sitting as a Land Board, to investigate claims to private ownership of land which might be submitted. Whenever any claimant satisfied the Board that the land claimed had been continuously occupied and cultivated since July 1, 1796, either by himself or by someone whose ownership had passed to him, the Board recognized him as the lawful owner.

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[4] On the Woodward Plan, see B. L. Pickens, "Early City Plans for Detroit, A Projected American Metropolis," in *The Art Quarterly,* VI, 35-50 (Detroit, Winter, 1943).

[5] To Father Dilhet, one of the resident priests, was given the lot at the southeast corner of Woodward and Grand River, now covered by the northern end of the J. L. Hudson Store. Although the lot was free, a small fee must be paid for making out the necessary legal papers, and the recipient valued the gift so lightly that he did not bother to obtain his certificate of title. Prior to the financial panic of 1929, this lot was valued at $30,000 per front foot.

Thus were created the Private Claims, some 800 in number, extending along the river for many miles to east and west of the town, as well as up the Rouge and other lesser streams. For the most part they were the old feudal grants, fronting two or more *arpents* on the river, and either forty or eighty *arpents* in depth. Many of Detroit's north and south streets were laid out along their borders and still bear the names of the private owners, while the reluctance of the holders to permit the extension of east and west streets across their farms is chiefly responsible for the present-day paucity of through east and west streets in the older section of the city. Thus it has come about that the shadow of the feudal age is still reflected in the street plan of twentieth-century Detroit.

Save for the important trading center of Mackinac, the white population of Michigan in 1805 was chiefly confined to the river and lake front settlements and farms extending from present-day Port Huron on the north to the Maumee Rapids on the south—a distance of 120 miles or more. Communication between Detroit and the outlying settlements was chiefly by water, since during most of the year travel by land was impracticable. On July 3, 1805, Governor Hull issued an executive proclamation dividing his widely scattered domain into four districts, for judicial and executive purposes. In each district, except Huron,[6] provision was made for justices of the peace and other officials, and for a district court, with sessions at least once each year. To the District of Detroit was assigned a ten-mile strip of river front with the citadel as its center. South of this lay the District of Erie; all of the Territory lying north of Saginaw Bay became the District of Michilimackinac; between this District and that of Detroit was the District of Huron. In all this the Governor was substantially repeating, probably quite unconsciously, the organization of Hesse and the other districts erected by proclamation of the Governor of Quebec in 1787.

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[6] Since Huron had no considerable settlement, it was attached to Detroit for judicial purposes. The establishment of the districts by Governor Hull necessarily involved the eradication of Wayne County, which had been organized as a county of the Northwest Territory in August, 1796. Present-day Wayne County, whose supposed sesquicentennial Detroit hilariously celebrated in 1946, was established by Governor Lewis Cass, November 21, 1815.

Overshadowing all else, during much of the period, was the problem of defense of the Territory against both British and Indians. In Europe, the Napoleonic wars were raging, and Britain was locked in a death grapple with France, whose dictator had overrun most of the continent. In America, pacifist Thomas Jefferson ruled supreme, struggling vainly to persuade the rulers of the two warring nations to listen to the sweet voice of reason. Both Britain and France adhered to their realistic pursuit of national self-interest, meanwhile playing fast and loose with the rights of neutral nations, of which the United States was the chief. To the end of his term Jefferson clung desperately to his pacifist policies, in whose pursuit he abdicated for America the use of the seas, and in the effort to enforce his Nonintercourse and Embargo measures dealt the country's commerce a deadlier blow than those dealt by England and France combined.

Finally, after long debate the country blundered hesitantly and half-heartedly into the War of 1812. The residents of New England were so bitterly opposed to this step, and to the party in power, as to give rise to grave doubts of their loyalty to the Union. The middle and southern states were, on the whole, favorably disposed toward the war. But in no other section were the people as eager for it as in the West. Here, on the frontier, the traditional enmity toward England was comparatively untouched by the commercial advantages which committed New England to a policy of peace. Revival of commerce had little effect upon the West, with its desultory cultivation and crude and inadequate means of transportation, but the spirit of expansion was strong and the greed for land was unappeased. To this sentiment was added the belief, firmly held by all Westerners, that the British were at bottom responsible for the Indian menace which overhung the frontier. An ever-mounting White-Indian tension, marked by increasingly numerous acts of violence, culminated in the battle of Tippecanoe in November, 1811. Although Governor Harrison had led his army to a somewhat indecisive victory, it was clear that sooner or later the Americans must renew the attack upon the red men, and that a war with the British would bring a general Indian war upon the Northwest.

However great the national provocation might be, the declaration of war proved a ruinous measure for Michigan Territory. Although the orators in Congress had clamored for war, no serious measures for waging it against the most militant power on earth had been taken. From the tiny American navy nothing was expected even by the most optimistic war-monger. Of the army, however, which existed chiefly "on order," far too much was anticipated. Obviously the army could wage war upon Great Britain only by invading Canada, and the speedy conquest of that domain was looked upon as a mere foregone conclusion.

But for the absence of any intelligent preparation, the task might easily have been performed. The total white population of Canada numbered but half a million souls, scattered in a thin line of settlement wholly open to hostile attack from the seaboard westward to Detroit River; more than half of them were of French blood, who were believed to be either disloyal to the existing government or indifferent to its preservation. The potential strength of the United States was overwhelming, if properly organized; but organization and discipline were alike woefully lacking, and far from conquering Canada quickly, the United States found herself invaded, her Capitol burned, and the country, after three years of effort, in imminent peril of dismemberment.

In the discussion that follows we must limit our attention to the campaigns waged in the Northwest and to the results of the War of 1812 for Michigan. Governor Hull had gone to Washington in the autumn of 1811 and had there somewhat reluctantly accepted the command of an army for the defense of Detroit and the Northwest. Returning westward in the spring of 1812, on May 25, at Dayton, he assumed command of the new army that was in process of formation. It consisted of three regiments of Ohio militia, newly formed and wholly untrained, numbering about 1,200 men. At Urbana on June 10, the Fourth United States Infantry, numbering about 300 men, joined the army after having marched from Vincennes, and with this force Hull began the northward march of 200 miles to Detroit. Most of the intervening country was a wilderness, and part of it was still the Indians' domain, which Hull could not even enter until he had concluded a treaty with them for this purpose. Although Congress actually declared war before Hull's march began, so many of the guns supplied to the army were unfit for use that traveling forges had to be contrived to repair them, and the work had not been completed when the army reached Detroit.

With such a force, augmented upon its arrival by several hundred Michigan militia, Hull was expected to advance 200 miles to Detroit, leaving, at intervals along the way, a chain of garrisons to protect his line of communications, defend Michigan Territory against both British and Indians, and invade and conquer all of Upper Canada eastward to Lake Ontario. General Brock or George Rogers Clark might possibly have achieved these patently improbable results, but lacking naval control of the Lakes, as the Americans did, the efforts of even the most daring military gambler might have failed. Hull was no gambler, and his sense of responsibility for the fate of the civilian population of Michigan was keener than became a mere military leader intent upon achieving his ends at any cost. He failed, and was awarded a felon's doom, but the shockingly inept Washington administration, and the rash popular clamor which had rushed the country into a war it was unprepared to wage were primarily responsible for his failure. Hull's fundamental mistake was in accepting the command at all; he paid heavily for it, as the scapegoat for the nation's shortcomings.

The task of conducting the army to Detroit, which was reached on July 7, was performed creditably save for one foolish measure. At Maumee Rapids on July 1, Hull chartered a small schooner on which, still ignorant of the actual declaration of war two weeks before, he placed his personal baggage and official papers, some hospital stores, musical instruments, army wives, and sick soldiers to be conveyed to Detroit. At Amherstburg a bold young Canadian, who was a veteran of the battles of the

Nile and Trafalgar, with a squad of men in an open boat boarded and captured the vessel, obtaining thereby possession of Hull's correspondence with his government.

On July 12 Hull crossed the river at Belle Isle to begin an invasion of Canada. Fort Malden, less than twenty miles distant, and the chief British military and administrative center in the Northwest, seemingly lay at his mercy. But, instead of pushing the attack, Hull established headquarters in a mansion directly opposite Detroit and settled down to a warfare of proclamations and feeble advance thrusts by small detachments of his army.

The vital factor in the entire defense of Detroit speedily became evident. Since the British navy controlled the water, all supplies for the maintenance of the army must be brought by land from southern Ohio over the route by which Hull himself had come. From Maumee Rapids the way ran to present-day Monroe and along the shores of Lake Erie and the Detroit River to Detroit and was everywhere vulnerable to Indian attack and, opposite Fort Malden, to British attack as well. By the simple maneuver of sitting down athwart this highway at Brownstown, Tecumseh with a handful of warriors severed Hull's line of communications in early August. Thereafter all Hull's energy was devoted to the task of reopening this route, since upon it the preservation of his army depended.

On August 5, Major Van Horne, sent back from Canada with 200 dragoons to open the route to Monroe, was surprised and disgracefully routed at Brownstown by Tecumseh's Indians. Hull now dispatched Colonel Miller and his sole regiment of regulars, supported by several hundred militiamen, to open the line. He marched as far as Monguagon, where on August 9, in a fiercely contested battle, he drove the combined British-Indian army in flight from the field. However, he was unable to follow up his initial advantage and the highway remained closed as tightly as before.

Meanwhile, in the night before the battle, Hull had withdrawn the remainder of his army to Detroit, leaving behind in Canada only a few score men in charge of Fort Gouie, a temporary river-front redoubt. At Detroit he made a third and final effort to reopen connections with Ohio, sending McArthur and Cass, two of his three Ohio militia colonels, with several hundred men to proceed by way of the ancient Indian trail to St. Joseph as far as present-day Ypsilanti, where they were to contact the relieving force with supplies for the army, which was to come up the Huron from Monroe.[7] This maneuver was designed to circumvent the British, by passing around them at a distance from the direct road to Monroe. As usual in these operations, however, the detachment left Detroit inadequately provided with food, and before reaching Ypsilanti the leaders weakly abandoned their mission and without seeing a single enemy started back to Detroit. Somewhere in the vicinity of the Rouge, within easy gun-sound of the fort, they were wasting the day of August 16 engaged in roasting an ox while Detroit and Michigan were falling into the hands of a real soldier.

While a Territory was thus being frittered away at Detroit, General Brock was pushing westward in open boats from Niagara along the Lake Erie shore with a few regular soldiers and such Canadian militia as he could pick up at the settlements en route. He had received news of the declaration of war on June 26, well in advance of Hull, and had instantly ordered Captain Roberts at St. Joseph to move against Mackinac, which surrendered without a blow on July 17, the first overt event in the entire war.[8] Reaching Amherstburg on August 13, Brock listened to the reports of Hull's operations and instantly determined to put his fortune to the final test by assaulting Detroit. It was a gamble as desperate as any in military annals, its only recommendation being the knowledge gained of Hull's lack of aggressive leadership and his despondent state of mind. Like Wolfe at Quebec, Brock risked his all on a single throw of the dice. With his little army of Redcoats,[9] Canadians, and Indians, in the morning of August 16 he crossed the river at Springwells,[10] and while the agile warriors ranged at will through the farm yards and fields, the white soldiery advanced in solid column up the river road, hemmed in on one side by the river, and on the other by the picket fences which fronted the farms.

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[7] The trail to St. Joseph was approximately identical with present-day Michigan Avenue between Detroit and Ypsilanti.

[8] The fall of Mackinac at the very outset of hostilities influenced powerfully the further course of events. It encouraged the western Indians to commit the Chicago massacre of August 15; it greatly discouraged Hull, who received the news on July 28, and who entertained a marked fear of the "northern hordes" of savages; in general it heartened the British adherents and determined the course of the wavering. The trinity of initial American disasters in the West—at Mackinac, Chicago, and Detroit—received its first offset in the successful defense of Fort Wayne in September.

In the fort all was confusion, heightened by a lucky shot from the battery which Brock had erected at Windsor, and which had been futilely bombarding the town for some hours. The cannon-ball entered the room where Lieutenant Hanks, recently the commandant of Mackinac, was undergoing a military hearing, and killed that unfortunate officer as well as several other occupants of the room. While the American cannoneers stood at their guns with lighted matches, eager to sweep the oncoming British column to destruction, Hull refused the necessary order to fire, vacillating meanwhile from bold defiance to abject despair. The latter emotion triumphed, however, and save for the feeble cross-river cannonading, which had been discontinued, Detroit and all Michigan Territory were surrendered to General Brock at noon of August 16 without firing a shot. Included in the surrender were the valiant Ohio militia colonels outside the town who had heard and coolly ignored Hull's warning guns signaling them to return, together with the small detachment from Ohio which had advanced as far as Monroe.

After disaster follows the usually futile inquest. Although nearly a century and a half have passed since Detroit's tragic downfall there is still no consensus concerning the factors responsible for it. The national awakening from the roseate dream of a walk-away conquest of Canada[11] proved exceedingly painful, and the public cried aloud for a scapegoat. The obvious victim was General Hull, and upon his head the public clamor centered. The Ohio colonels, whose knowledge of practical politics contrasted amazingly with their ignorance of military matters, led the mob, and the well-nigh criminally inept administration at Washington saw no reason for saving its General at the cost of diverting the public wrath upon itself. Hull was thrown to the wolves, therefore,[12] and the fatuous country, which might have drawn useful lessons from the failure of its initial military effort, learned nothing.

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[9] To deceive the Americans, many of the Canadian militia were also outfitted with the scarlet coats of the regulars.

[10] Springwells was at present-day Fort Wayne, about three miles west of the fort. Here, in addition to a great flowing spring, there was a sand hill and some notable Indian remains.

[11] Henry Clay, one of the foremost "War Hawks," had publicly affirmed that Kentucky alone could perform the task in a few weeks' time.

By the surrender of Michigan the American frontier in the Northwest was thrown back upon a line running westward from central Ohio to St. Louis. As soon as Detroit was taken, Brock launched an expedition against Fort Wayne, which the Indians alone presently assaulted. Governor Harrison of Indiana, who proved to be the most popular leader developed by the war in the Northwest, led a relatively huge Ohio militia array to the relief, and on learning of its approach, the expedition from Detroit abandoned the undertaking. So matters came to a temporary stalemate, with the British in control of all the upper Northwest, the Americans firmly seated in lower Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the vast intervening area, as in the Revolution, a debatable no man's land, for which the rival armies contended.

For over a year the operations in the Northwest centered around the measures of Governor Harrison for the recovery of Detroit. His knowledge of warfare had been gained under the able tutelage of Anthony Wayne. Remaining permanently in the Northwest, he had become a past master of the art of politics, and no one in all the country excelled him in his understanding of the character and qualities of the frontier. A striking evidence of his popularity was afforded by his appointment on August 25 by Governor Shelby as Major General of Kentucky militia. A week later the President made him a Brigadier General in the United States Army. To succeed General Hull in command of the Northwestern Army the President appointed James Winchester of Tennessee, a brave but curiously incompetent veteran of the Revolution. In early autumn he moved down the Maumee from Fort Wayne and built Fort Winchester at Defiance. Here Winchester settled down to await the formation of another army which Harrison was assembling at St. Mary's. In this situation, intensified by an acute jealousy between the two commanders, lay the germ of another shocking disaster.

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[12] Hull was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted by President Madison.

Belatedly, Harrison decided that the season was too far gone to permit an advance upon Detroit, and went into winter quarters at Upper Sandusky, while Winchester, late in December, moved down the Maumee to the Rapids. The residents of Frenchtown (modern Monroe), harassed by threats of Indian ravages, appealed to Winchester for protection, and on January 14, 1813 he dispatched 650 Kentucky militia, who readily drove the few British into retreat and themselves occupied the town. Word of this achievement was borne to Winchester, who the next day set out for Monroe himself with 300 additional men. The military stupidity of this advance could hardly have been exceeded, for Monroe was within easy striking distance of the British at Amherstburg, and the advance should either have been made with an adequate force or not at all. As if to fill the measure to overflowing, Winchester ignored repeated warnings of impending British attack, and even established his headquarters at a farmhouse, some distance outside the camp.

Retribution came swiftly, for General Procter, whom Brock had left in command in the Northwest, crossed the broad river from Amherstburg to the American shore on the ice and at dawn of January 22 stormed the American camp at Monroe. The American right was soon crushed. The remnant of the army, sheltered within the town, put up a stubborn defense until Winchester, who had been seized by half a dozen Indians, sent its leaders an order to surrender. The Americans yielded under pledge of protection from the Indians, after which General Procter hastily retired to Amherstburg, leaving scores of wounded to their fate. A ghastly massacre ensued and "Remember the River Raisin" became the popular American battle-cry throughout the remainder of the war. To the present day, Kentuckians remember the Blue Licks and the River Raisin, both intimately associated with Detroit, as the two most deplorable military disasters in the history of their Commonwealth.

An incidental fruit of the River Raisin horror was the permanent removal of General Winchester from the military scene. In February, General Harrison timidly advanced from Lower Sandusky (modern Fremont), where he had established Fort Stephenson, to the Maumee Rapids, where, within eyesight of former British Fort Miamis, he began the erection of Fort Meigs. Before this work was completed spring arrived, and, late in April, General Procter once more assumed the offensive. Heavy cannon from Detroit and Fort Malden were carried by the naval vessels as far as Fort Miamis, where they were landed and hauled by the soldiers an additional mile or more to present-day Maumee Rapids, directly opposite Fort Meigs. The siege was actively prosecuted from May 1 to May 9, during which time a relieving force of over 800 Kentuckians was cut to pieces under the eyes of the defenders of Fort Meigs.[13] Yet every effort to reduce that place was baffled, and, abandoning the siege, Procter returned to Amherstburg.

The months passed, thousands of American militia marched to the tented field and returned home again, yet with many times the number which had been deemed sufficient for General Hull the year before, Harrison did not venture north of the Maumee. In mid-summer General Procter again resumed the offensive, endeavoring this time to take Fort Meigs by stratagem. Failing, he made a desperate assault upon Fort Stephenson, only to encounter complete defeat. This failure marked the turn of the tide in the Northwest. Throughout the summer Captain Oliver H. Perry had been toiling to create in Erie harbor a fleet with which to challenge the British naval dominance of the Upper Lakes. In early September he succeeded in getting his little flotilla afloat and sailed in search of the enemy. The British fleet moved out from Amherstburg to meet the challenge and on September 10, within gun-sound of that port, the British navy met its doom in the Battle of Lake Erie.

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[13] This disaster illustrated anew the hazards entailed upon the Americans by their lack of discipline. A force of about 1,300 men led by General Green Clay of Kentucky was descending the Maumee to join Harrison, who undertook to execute a classic military maneuver. Clay was directed to surprise and storm Procter's camp, spike the cannon, and then cross the Maumee to the shelter of Fort Meigs. The British camp was stormed and taken, when the eager militiamen forgot the remainder of their orders and scattered in pursuit of the enemy or in search of plunder. The British-Indian panic proved but momentary, and rallying, they captured or killed almost the entire attacking force. The affair has ever since been known as the Dudley Massacre, from the name of the American officer in immediate command of the operation.

For once the land forces were ready to follow up this decisive naval advantage. Governor Shelby of Kentucky, in response to Harrison's appeals, had summoned no less than twelve mounted regiments to the field. As soon as the naval victory was won, the army moved by boat across the Lake to Amherstburg. The hopelessness of further resistance was evident to General Procter, who hastily destroyed the public works at Amherstburg and Detroit and began the retreat to Lake Ontario. Harrison pursued with vigor, several of Perry's vessels accompanying the army as far as Chatham on the Thames. On October 5, the British were compelled to make a stand near the Moravian Indian town. Procter's little army was drawn up at a point where the highway runs close to the Thames, while Tecumseh's Indians took shelter in a swampy forest which flanked the roadway on the other side. A detachment of Colonel Johnson's mounted Kentucky regiment rode over the thin line of Redcoats and thereby compelled its prompt surrender. Meanwhile Johnson himself charged the Indian position, where the fighting was furious until Tecumseh fell. The disheartened Indians then fled, and the battle and campaign were over.

Over a year of warfare still remained, but in the Northwest the further operations were distinctly minor in scope. Returning to Detroit, the Kentucky regiments disbanded and went to their homes. Harrison himself left for another scene, and youthful Major Croghan, the victor of Fort Stephenson, was left with a small garrison in command of Detroit. Bereft of British support, the hitherto hostile Indians were soon facing starvation, and during the winter several thousand of them were fed at Detroit by the Americans. Various minor operations which we do not undertake to describe occupied the weary months until the conclusion of peace. Meanwhile, the British remained in control of Mackinac and all the region adjoining Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi. In the summer of 1814, an American army and fleet sailed from Detroit to seize control of this region. The assault on Mackinac Island on August 4, 1814 failed disastrously, while on the upper Mississippi the British control remained unshaken until the end of the war.

At distant Ghent, in Belgium, throughout the autumn of 1814 the diplomats haggled over the terms of peace. Ever since 1783 the British had repented the territorial concessions yielded at that time to America, and, with the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814, the time seemed opportune to rectify the mistake. One formidable army undertook to repeat the Burgoyne enterprise of 1777 of severing New England from New York, while another was dispatched to the Gulf of Mexico to wrest from the United States the lower Mississippi area. The first British force met its Waterloo at Plattsburg on September 11, 1814, the second was defeated at New Orleans on January 8, 1815.

Meanwhile the British Ministry pushed its diplomatic demands for the dismemberment of the country, which in the North was to be shut off from the Great Lakes entirely by a line running westward across New York to and down the Ohio, the entire area thus ceded being converted into an Indian barrier state, barring the Americans permanently from access to Canada. In effect, this conception aimed to restore the provisions of the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768, dedicating the western country forever to savagery. This effort to turn back the clock failed as decisively as had the invading armies, and on December 24, 1814, peace was concluded on the simple basis of a return to the *status quo ante bellum.* But for this settlement, America would have been left a mere headless, dismembered fragment, confined to the middle section of the Atlantic Seaboard.

The diplomatic complement of the Treaty of Ghent was the restoration of peace with Britain's western Indian allies. For them the sun of racial influence had definitely set. The hatred of the frontiersman had been intensified, while his fear of Indian retribution had vanished. Ruined and despairing, feeling themselves betrayed a second time by Great Britain, during the next few months the Indians assembled at Springwells near Detroit or at Portage des Sioux above St. Louis and meekly subscribed to a series of brief identic treaties with the United States, reciting in effect that the two peoples, formerly at war, agreed now to live in peace and all warlike acts committed by either side against the other were mutually forgiven and forgotten. The restoration of peace with Britain and with the Indian tribes marked the close of an era for Michigan and the West in general; it signalized, also, the opening of a new era, fraught with developments which the most visionary contemporary dreamer could neither foresee nor comprehend.

CHAPTER 13

Territorial Maturity
1816-1835

THE RETURN OF peace in the winter of 1815[1] found Michigan Territory a prostrate, half-ruined land. Since the summer of 1812, Mackinac and all the adjacent area had been conquered territory; so, too, had all the region west of Lake Michigan.[2] Although Detroit and southeastern Michigan had been reconquered in the autumn of 1813,[3] lively anticipations of renewed invasion and rapine were entertained as late as the actual arrival of the news of peace.[4] For months near-famine conditions prevailed, and the price of food and other necessities rose to fantastic levels.[5]

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[1] The Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814. The news reached Washington on February 14, 1815, and Postmaster General Meigs dispatched a brief announcement of it to William Woodbridge at Detroit. It arrived about 9 a.m. on February 20, having been transmitted "in the most wonderfully short period of 5 days." See letters of Meigs to Woodbridge, February 14, and Woodbridge to his wife, February 25, mss. in Woodbridge Papers, in Burton Hist. Coll., Detroit Public Library.

[2] The Americans evacuated Amherstburg July 1, 1815, and an expedition commanded by Colonel Anthony Butler reoccupied Mackinac later in the same month. The reoccupation of Fort Dearborn (Chicago) and the occupation of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were effected in the summer of 1816.

[3] General Harrison's army reoccupied Detroit September 29, 1813.

[4] "The face of things is quite changed," wrote William Woodbridge to his wife at Marietta on February 25. "Instead of gloomy anticipations of ruined cornfields, burning houses, of scalped women and children, and all the horrors of war and desolation, we have the cheering news of peace, plenty, and prosperity." Ms. letter in Woodbridge Papers, Burton Hist. Coll., Detroit Public Library.

[5] "The desolation of this Territory is beyond all conception," wrote Judge Woodward to the Secretary of War, March 5, 1815. "No kind of flour or meal to be procured and nothing for the subsistence of the cattle. No animals for slaughter and more than half the population destitute of any for domestic or agricultural purposes. The fencing of their farms entirely destroyed by the incursions

The public buildings of Detroit had been destroyed and the records carried off, and private property had been ravaged by friend and foe alike. The early efforts of General Procter to conciliate the residents of Michigan had quickly failed, and his rule had become progressively sterner. Many of the inhabitants voluntarily sought refuge in the eastern states, and numerous prominent citizens were imprisoned or exiled from the Territory by Procter. The civil government collapsed completely as a result of the conquest and once more Detroit knew only the harsh rule of the army; as late as February, 1815, General McArthur was seriously recommending to the War Department that Detroit should be depopulated, and western Canada and Michigan Territory should be converted into an uninhabited desert.[6]

Although General Cass had been appointed Governor of the Territory in the autumn of 1813, he did not return to Michigan to assume the duties of his office until the summer of 1815. With the return of peace, the breath of new life began to stir for Michigan no less than for the nation. The price of real estate, traditionally high at Detroit, leaped upward as soon as the news of peace was received. All three of the prewar Territorial Judges[7] presently returned to Michigan, but the sun of their comic-opera rule was fast setting. The war had brought many men from Ohio and Kentucky, as well as from the East, to Detroit, some of whom shortly returned to become founders of many of the present-day first families of Michigan. Along with these new arrivals, many of the older residents set their faces hopefully toward the future. The end of Michigan's long wilderness isolation was at last close at hand.

The founding of a university and the establishment of a weekly newspaper, both in the summer of 1817 were significant of the new trend. Until Editor John P. Sheldon came from

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of the enemy, and for fuel for the military. Their houses left without glass, and in many instances even the flooring burnt. . . . It is a literal fact . . . that the inhabitants of the River Raisin have been obliged to resort to *chopped hay boiled* for subsistence." Letter printed in Silas Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I, 287.

[6] McArthur to James Monroe, Secretary of War, February 6, 1815. Photostat copy in Burton Hist. Coll., Detroit Public Library; original letter in War Department Archives.

[7] Woodward, Witherell, and Griffin.

Rochester to establish the Detroit *Gazette,* there was no newspaper west of Buffalo except in the southern portion of the Old Northwest. For thirteen years the *Gazette* continued to be published, its pugnacious editor never at a loss for material to stir the embers of political controversy; and from the ashes of the *Gazette* sprang the *Free Press,* which still continues to be one of the country's outstanding newspapers.

Despite the valiant pioneer efforts of Father Gabriel Richard,[8] prewar Detroit had given but scant attention to schools. Now, under the leadership of such men as Governor Cass, Secretary Woodbridge, Judge Woodward, the Reverend John Monteith, and Father Richard a university was instituted, for which Judge Woodward drafted a plan no less magnificent in its way than his physical plan for the city of Detroit.

Like the city, the University soon turned its back upon Woodward's imposing project, and after its rebirth at Ann Arbor in 1837, for over a century it even denied all identity with the university established at Detroit in 1817. But Woodbridge and Woodward and the other founding fathers had dreamed and dared magnificently, and their pioneer efforts contributed something at least to the development of the institution which today takes rank among the world's leading universities.

The rule of the governor and judges, as prescribed in the Ordinance of 1787 for the first stage of Territorial government, lasted in Michigan until 1824. Meanwhile, however, two changes of considerable importance had been made. Upon the admission of Illinois to statehood in 1818 with its present boundaries, the remaining area of the Old Northwest was joined to Michigan Territory, which until 1834 comprised the present-day states of Michigan and Wisconsin together with that portion of Minnesota lying northeastward of the Mississippi River.[9] In

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[8] Father Richard served Detroit and the Northwest as pastor and educator from 1798 until his death in 1832. In 1809 he brought a small press to Detroit, and on it numerous books, tracts, and at least one issue of *The Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer* were printed. He also worked valiantly to found schools and a library, but his efforts evoked but slight response from the community.

[9] In 1834 the Territory was again enlarged to embrace all of present-day Iowa and Minnesota and the approximate eastern half of North and South Dakota.

1819 the Territory was permitted to send a delegate to Congress, and finally, in 1823, to enter upon the second stage of government by organizing a Legislative Council of nine members, selected by the President from a list of eighteen elected by the voters of Michigan. The first session convened at Detroit on June 7, 1824, and regular sessions continued to be held until the people of Michigan voluntarily abolished their Territorial government in the bloodless revolution of August, 1835. An Act of Congress of February 5, 1825 increased the membership of the Council to thirteen, while another, of January 29, 1827, authorized the voters to elect the Councillors directly, without the intervention of the President.

So from 1819 on, Michigan had a spokesman in Congress, and from the summer of 1824, a representative Legislature at Detroit. Although the population was still chiefly French, the Yankee new-comers monopolized the public offices. The first delegate in Congress was William Woodbridge, a New Englander who had migrated with his parents to Marietta. The second delegate, Soloman Sibley, was of like geographical background. Both Woodbridge and Sibley were lawyers and both were inveterate officeholders.[10] In 1825, Father Gabriel Richard became delegate, serving until 1829, and incidentally establishing a record which still survives as the only Catholic priest ever elected to Congress. He owed his election to a falling-out between two Yankee rivals for the prize, and the choice was regarded by many contemporaries as highly inappropriate; yet despite his lack of political experience and his absorption in the affairs of his Church, to which his salary as delegate was donated, he won the respect of his congressional colleagues and made, on the whole, a creditable legislative record.

More and more, as the years passed, the public life of Michigan was dominated by the masterful Governor, Lewis Cass. Possessed of abounding energy and driven by an insatiable curiosity, he frequently absented himself from the Territory on journeys to the seat of government at Washington or on missions of exploration and administration of Indian affairs.[11] He was a great administrator, an able diplomat, a shrewd politician, and an eager scholar. Unlike fabled Cassandra, along with the capacity of foresight he possessed the ability to command the confidence of both his constituents and his governmental superiors. For sixteen years[12] he governed Michigan with remarkable ability, resigning in 1831 to begin his long career in the public life of the nation as the trusted aide of President Jackson. Under his aggressive tutelage Michigan was transformed from a remote and alien outpost into a vigorous, if still nascent, American commonwealth.

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[10] Woodbridge was Territorial Secretary and Collector of the port of Detroit in addition to holding the office of delegate. The situation provoked such sharp criticism that he withdrew from the delegacy at the close of a single term.

Before the westward flowing tide of American settlement could enter Michigan, practicable highways of travel must be developed, the Indian ownership of the country must be terminated, and the land itself must be opened to individual purchase and occupation. The Treaty negotiated by Governor Hull at Brownstown in 1807 had transferred the southeastern quarter of lower Michigan to the United States,[13] but until after the War of 1812, settlers could neither reach nor occupy that territory. By the Treaty of St. Mary's in the summer of 1817, Cass obtained for the United States the title to that portion of northwestern Ohio lying between the Greenville Line of 1795 and the Maumee, and late in 1818, a United States Land Office was opened at Detroit.

A year later, by the Treaty of Saginaw, Cass procured the cession of another great area adjoining the Brownstown Cession on the west and north, and extending from the vicinity of Kalamazoo northeastward to Thunder Bay River. Title to practically all the remainder of southern Michigan, as far north as Grand River, was obtained, again by Governor Cass, by the Chicago Treaty of 1820. This same season he conducted a notable exploration to Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi.[14] En route, at Sault Ste Marie, by a remarkable exhibition of aggressive courage he cowed the still-disaffected Chippewa and extorted from them the cession of a strip of land along the St. Mary's giving to the United States control of the vastly strategic waterway from Lake Superior to Lake Huron.

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[11] Besides his office of Governor, Cass served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for all the Upper Great Lakes and upper Mississippi areas.

[12] Counting from the beginning of his permanent residence in Detroit in the summer of 1815; 18 years, if counted from the date of his appointment as Governor.

[13] The boundary of the cession ran from the flagstaff of Fort Defiance due north to the meridian running through Port Huron; thence by a straight line to the White Rock in Lake Huron; thence by the international boundary to the mouth of the Maumee River; thence up the Maumee to Port Defiance.

The establishment of Fort Brady at the Sault and of Fort Saginaw on the site of the modern city of this name, followed in due course.[15] Title to all of the northwestern quarter of lower Michigan, together with the Upper Peninsula eastward from Escanaba River, was obtained by the Treaty of Washington in 1836; and the Copper Country and the Upper Peninsula lying westward from Lake Michigan and the Escanaba River was ceded to the United States by the two treaties of Cedar Point (1836) and La Pointe (1842).

Thus in 35 years—from 1807 to 1842—the Indian title to all of Michigan was extinguished; while all for which the white man had any present desire was obtained, chiefly under the leadership of Governor Cass, as early as 1820.[16] As the needs of settlement required them, additional land offices were established at Monroe, Saginaw, and Kalamazoo.

Before the land could be offered for sale to settlers it must, of course, be surveyed. Another great Act of the Confederation Congress was the Ordinance of 1785, which laid the foundation of the Public Land System of the United States. Hardly second in importance to the Ordinance of 1787, it substituted for the immemorial system of indiscriminate location, with irregular boundaries identified by such objects as trees and stones, the rectangular system of surveys with boundaries based on astronomical lines. The surveys were conducted by the government itself, and for the first time in human history the settler was provided with a scientific method of determining the boundaries of his holding and a scientific assurance of the validity of his title to it.

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[14] For a short description of his journey see the present writer's "From Detroit to the Mississippi in 1820," in *B. H. C. Leaflet,* VIII, 49-64.

[15] Fort Brady was maintained as a regular army post until the close of World War II, when the War Department decreed its abandonment and the grounds and buildings were turned over to the Michigan College of Mining and Technology to serve as a supplementary home for this institution. The history of Fort Saginaw is both brief and tragic, its early abandonment being occasioned by a devastating epidemic.

[16] In the foregoing recital no effort has been made to describe portions of cessions lying outside the boundaries of Michigan.

The original survey under the new system in southeastern Ohio started from the point where the Ohio River intersects the western boundary of Pennsylvania. From time to time, as the expansion of the nation westward continued, new principal meridians and base lines, governing the surveys of the adjacent areas, were established, until the number totaled thirty-four. The Michigan Survey, as it is known, comprises all the land of Michigan together with that part of Ohio lying north of the Maumee River. The principal meridian, or north-and-south base line, ran from the flagstaff of Fort Defiance northward to the international boundary;[17] the east-and-west base line is identical with the northern boundary of all but one of the southern tier of counties.[18] Thus Michigan, in common with all of the newer states, enjoys the enormous advantage, denied to the older states, of a scientific method of establishing land titles and boundaries.[19] Because most of Michigan is a level land, the highways commonly run on the section lines of the survey, while except along the lake shores, where nature has determined the boundaries, the counties are monotonously rectangular.

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[17] The line is at longitude 84° 22′ 24″ west from Greenwich, lying a short distance east of the cities of Jackson and Lansing, and approximately bisecting the Lower Peninsula.

[18] Latitude 46° 24′ 30″. At Detroit it is locally known as Base Line or Eight Mile Road, being the section line eight miles north of the City Hall. Since it is the northern boundary of Wayne County, it also marks the northern city limits of Detroit.

[19] Save for minor exceptions, such as the Private Claims in Michigan and the Virginia Military Reserve in Ohio, the National Survey System includes all the states, apart from the original thirteen and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas. For a brief description of the system see pamphlet issued by the General Land Office in 1924 entitled *Public Land System of the United States.* For a much fuller and more adequate account, see Peters, *Ohio Lands and Their Subdivisions.*

The War of 1812, like every such conflict, produced widespread changes both in the nation and in the lives of individuals. Five hundred thousand men, from a total population of barely 8,000,000, had enlisted in the army for shorter or longer terms. Necessarily their employment was interrupted, their businesses suffered, and attachment to their homes was weakened. Thousands, too, had been conducted, in the course of their military campaigns, upon tours into the rich western wilderness whose occupation by the settler the red man could no longer successfully resist. The natural result followed that the prewar flow of westward migration swelled to floodtime proportions. Until the late twenties, however, but little of it was directed toward Michigan, which was still almost wholly inaccessible to the ordinary emigrant.

Two important developments were now to effect the early termination of this isolation. In 1818 the first steamer on the Upper Lakes—the *Walk-in-the-Water*—was put into service between Buffalo and Detroit, marking the beginning of a relatively dependable means of transportation on the water. In 1825 the Erie Canal was opened, and with solemn ceremonial the water of Lake Erie was wedded to the Atlantic in New York Harbor. The economic and social consequences of the two developments were revolutionary in their scope. The wealth of the Northwest, poured into New York, fixed that city as the metropolis of America and compelled its seaboard rivals—Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston—to embark upon a feverish race for railroad connections with the interior, to retain for themselves a share of the inland commerce.

Meanwhile, from New England, New York, and Europe a stream of emigration, pouring westward by the Canal and the Great Lakes, rapidly peopled the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, as well as the southern sections of Michigan and Wisconsin. The census returns for Michigan from 1820 to 1840 go far toward explaining the remarkable development of these decades. As late as 1810, the total white population was less than 5,000, and in 1820 (now including present-day Wisconsin) less than 9,000. The territorial enumeration of the summer of 1827 disclosed a population of 17,411,[20] and the United States census of 1830, 31,639. By 1834, despite the setback caused by cholera epidemics and the Black Hawk War, the number had grown to 87,273; in 1837, to 175,000; and in 1840 to 212,267.[21]

Thus, although the population of Michigan Territory doubled from 1820 to 1827, and doubled again from 1827 to 1830, the actual total at the latter date was still small. The ensuing decade witnessed the most remarkable transformation in the history of Michigan—from 31,639 to 212,267, a gain of almost 600 per cent. Probably less than two per cent of the people of Michigan in 1840 were residents of twenty years' standing, while a scant ten per cent had lived here as long as ten years and barely forty per cent as long as six.

The distribution within the State of the flood of newcomers is likewise instructive. Chiefly they were rural dwellers, intent upon obtaining homesteads, for whom Detroit held scant attraction. Although the city grew steadily in population and in economic importance, its relative share of the total population of the State diminished rapidly. In 1810, one-third of the people of Michigan were residents of Detroit; in 1820, less than one-sixth; in 1830, barely one-fifteenth; and in 1840, but one-twenty-third. From this low point the ratio slowly recovered, until in 1890 it stood at one-tenth, and in 1930 was back at one-third, the identical figure for 1810.[22]

Confining ourselves to round numbers, and excluding the residents of present-day Wisconsin from consideration, the population of Michigan in 1830 was about 29,000; in 1834, about 80,000; in 1837, 175,000; and in 1840, 212,000. The average annual increase for the period 1830-34, therefore, was approximately 15,000; for the period 1834-37, about 32,000; and for the period 1837-40, about 12,000. It is quite certain that the immigration in 1833-34 was materially heavier than for the two preceding years. The years of maximum immigration were those of 1833-37 inclusive; and the dwindling flow from 1837 to 1840 affords evidence of the paralyzing consequences of the Panic of 1837.

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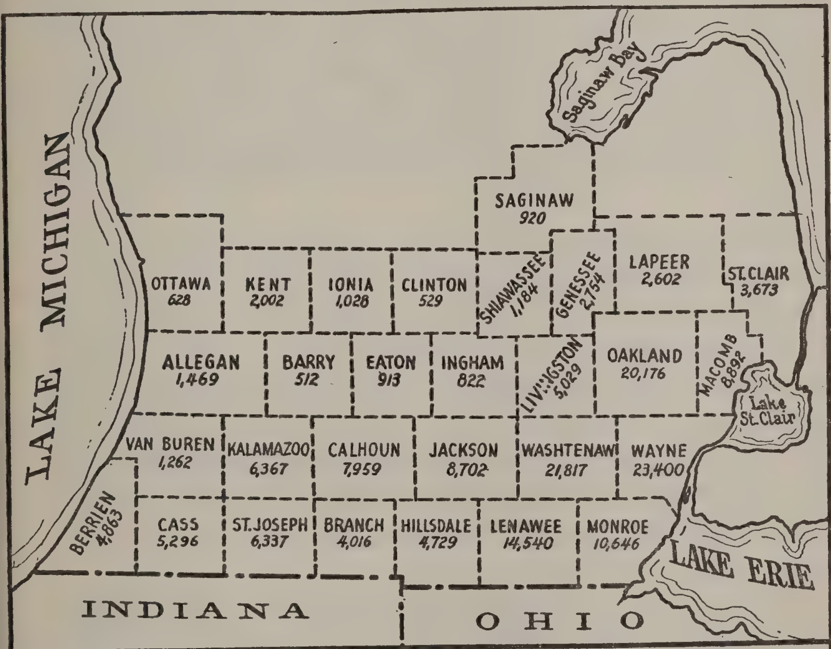
[20] Of this total, 1,785 resided in Crawford, Brown, Michilimackinac, and Chippewa counties, comprising the regions of present-day Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

[21] Prior to 1837 the figures given include the population of Wisconsin, which in 1830 was about 3,000 and in 1836, 12,000. See the present writer's calculations in *Wisconsin,* volume I, chap. 20.

[22] The 1940 census showed a slight recession, with Detroit possessing 30 per cent of the State's total population. The figure for the Detroit metropolitan area was naturally higher, and the redistribution of population produced by World War II drew many additional thousands to the metropolitan area.



POPULATION OF MICHIGAN 1837
By Counties

From Michigan History Wall Maps, A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

The figures showing the distribution of the population by counties for the several census years are likewise significant. On January 27, 1837, when Michigan became a state in the Union, practically the entire white population was living south of a line drawn from Port Huron to the mouth of Grand River at Grand Haven.[23] Two-thirds of the total resided in the two southern tiers of counties alone, and, but for the fact that Oakland, with 20,176 residents, lay in the third tier, the proportion would have been increased to four-fifths. Further, within these southernmost tiers of counties themselves the population was heavily overweighted toward the eastern end. The six contiguous southeastern counties of Lenawee, Monroe, Washtenaw, Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb contained four-sevenths of the new State's population. From a base line drawn along the river and lake from Monroe to Mount Clemens, the population spread fanlike to west and northwest, growing steadily thinner as the distance from the base line increased. Only three counties—Wayne, Washtenaw, and Oakland—had as many as 20,000 residents; and only two more—Lenawee and Monroe—as many as 10,000.[24]

Although the southern Michigan wilderness proved an irresistible lure to thousands of homeseekers, they paid heavily in toil, privations, and hardships, for the new homes they obtained. Save for the beautiful oak openings, for which primitive Michigan was renowned, practically the entire country was densely forested, and the work of clearing the land was exceedingly arduous. Broadly speaking, the generation of original settlers gave their lives to the task of transforming the wilderness into cultivated homes to serve as a heritage for their successors.[25]

All who came to Michigan could travel either by land or by water. Settlers from Europe, New England, and New York commonly crossed the latter state by way of the Erie Canal to

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[23] Note that while the state was admitted in January, the census of 1837 was taken in October; the figures include, therefore, most of the immigration of this year, and the actual population of Michigan on January 27 was probably closer to 150,000 than it was to the 175,000 enumerated in October. Saginaw, Mackinac, and Chippewa, the three counties north of the line indicated above, had a combined population of approximately 2,000.

[24] Wayne, with 23,400, exceeded Washtenaw and Oakland only slightly.

[25] A vivid picture of the experiences of one family of Wayne County pioneers is William Nowlin's *The Bark Covered House* (Chicago, 1937). For a similar narrative of the experiences of an English immigrant to Illinois, see Rebecca Burlend, *A True Picture of Emigration* (Chicago, 1936).

Buffalo.[26] Here they could either take passage on a lake vessel for Detroit or some other western port, or they could continue to journey overland along the south shore of Lake Erie. Arrived at its western end, they might debark at Detroit to begin their journey inland, or the voyage might be continued around the lakes to Milwaukee or Chicago. The journey by water was relatively easy, although it was not devoid of hardships; but the flimsy lake steamers with their puny engines exposed their passengers to appalling risk—from the elements in case of storm, from fire and boiler explosions at all times. Then, as always, the traveler possessed of means could purchase certain comforts which were denied to the poorer emigrant, but no money whatever could purchase avoidance of the fundamental hardships which the vehicles and the highways of the time made unavoidable.

All who came west by land must encounter, before reaching Michigan, the hazards of the dreaded Black Swamp at the western end of Lake Erie.[27] Whether in the Black Swamp or elsewhere, the need for passable highways was urgent, and practically all Westerners were enthusiastic supporters of the governmental policy of internal improvements. The military disasters suffered in the War of 1812 had taught the government the bitter lesson that it could not defend the western country in the absence of highways over which to move its armies. In 1824 Congress appropriated money for the survey of roads of national importance, and the President allocated one-third of the entire sum to surveying a military highway connecting Detroit with Fort Dearborn at Chicago.

Thus was born the famed Chicago Road, which followed the general course of the ancient Indian trail, running westward via Ypsilanti, Clinton, Coldwater, White Pigeon, Bertrand, and the south end of Lake Michigan. The actual survey was begun at Detroit in 1825, and the work of improvement was prosecuted for several years. By 1830 a stage service ran from Detroit as far west as Tecumseh. In 1832 it was extended to Niles, and in September, 1833, to Chicago.

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[26] If they migrated by land they followed the Genesee Pike which approximately paralleled the route of the Canal.

[27] The Black Swamp, about 4,000 square miles in extent, comprised several present-day Ohio counties lying at the southwest end of Lake Erie, and extending westward from Sandusky Bay to the lower course of the Maumee. Heavily timbered and with an underlying clay formation impervious to water, during much of the year the Swamp resembled a shallow, muck-bottomed lake. Only in extreme cold weather could it be traversed with relative ease, and all who encountered it retained lifelong memories of its horrors.

From about 1830 onward a stream of settlers poured westward over the famous old highway, which became both an artery of travel and a focus of settlement for much of southern Michigan. Harriet Martineau, a talented Englishwoman, traversed it in 1836, and her sprightly narrative[28] discloses that even the oldest section of the highway still left much to be desired. Close outside Detroit it became "as bad as roads ever are." Soon something snapped, and the stage-driver cried out that they were "broke to bits." Repaired, a second breakdown was experienced before noon. "Juggernaut's car would have been 'broke to bits' on such a road," the author temperately comments. On the third day out, beyond Jonesville, it became "more deplorable than ever," the passengers being several times compelled to leave the coach while it passed the more dangerous places, negotiating these quagmires on foot as best they could. Arrived at Lake Michigan, the road in the earlier years followed the water's edge. "When the sand was packed by the waves" one traveler records, "the drive was just splendid; but when the sand was dry and loose it was just horrible. A good team would make the distance [from Michigan City to Chicago] in six hours when the way was all right, and it was a six days' good drive when the way was all wrong." [29]

Most homeseekers, of course, surmounted the trials of the journey and eventually reached Detroit or other places in Michigan. In fact, so many thousands came, and in such an optimistic frame of mind, that a wild boom in Michigan land ensued. Under its influence, thousands came west who might better have stayed at home; other thousands extended their obligations unduly, pushing real estate prices to fantastic heights and spattering the wilderness with "paper" towns which a century of time and a resident population of several millions have not yet brought into being; while still other thousands remained in their eastern homes and indulged in wild buying and selling of wilderness farms and town lots.[30]

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[28] *Society in America* (London, 1839, 3 volumes), I, 317-348.

[29] Quaife, *Chicago's Highways Old and New,* chap. II.

The pay-off came to all these dreamers with the pricking of the speculative bubble, precipitated by the issuance of President Jackson's specie circular of 1837. Therewith the dark night of almost universal ruin settled upon the people of Michigan; the roseate dreams evaporated into thin air and from the shrewdest financier to the least sophisticated "investor" all learned anew the useful lesson that only by earnest toil and intelligent thrift are the foundations of a commonwealth or a home securely laid.

The red man was still in possession of his ancient homeland when the settlers began to arrive, and before his removal to newer country west of the Mississippi one final belated war scare was staged, in which Michigan played an interesting, if minor, rôle. The allied Sauk and Fox Indians, who have figured earlier in our story,[31] after much buffeting about had found a home in the lower Rock River Valley of Illinois and in the adjacent section of present-day Iowa. In 1804 at St. Louis, Governor Harrison of Indiana Territory (of which Michigan was then a part) made a treaty with certain reputed representatives of the tribe whereby they ceded over 30,000,000 acres of land in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri to the United States. Thus was planted the seed of the future Black Hawk War of 1832, for by this time the white settlers were beginning to crowd the red men from their homeland, and an important faction of the two tribes, under the leadership of Chief Black Hawk, repudiated the validity of the cession and stoutly resisted the intruders. In the spring of 1832, Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi into Illinois at the head of some 500 followers, and therewith the war was on. Although the actual campaigns and forays were confined to northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin, the panic of the frontiersmen extended eastward into Indiana and Michigan. At Chicago several hundred fugitives sought refuge, and frantic appeals for soldiery to protect them[32] were dispatched to Acting Governor Mason of Michigan.

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[30] One persistent western speculator was Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts.

[31] The Sauk lived for a time in the Saginaw Valley, before being crowded westward of Lake Michigan, and the permanent name of the River and Bay is derived from them. The rôle of the Foxes in Michigan's history is related *ante*, Chapter 7.

A militia force was hastily embodied at Detroit, and under the command of General John R. Williams, it departed for the front, and, after numerous vicissitudes arising from inadequate organization and leadership, entered Fort Dearborn on June 12. A few days later two companies of regulars from Fort Niagara arrived and assumed the defense of the citizenry, whereupon the Michigan soldiers were conveyed across Lake Michigan to St. Joseph and from there dispatched to their homes. Although they had seen no enemy, they had encountered a vast deal of hardship, and had performed a useful service in allaying the exaggerated fears of the settlers of southern Michigan as well as of the refugees at Chicago.

A more serious menace to the welfare of Michigan this same summer was the appearance, apparently for the first time, of the dreaded Asiatic cholera. From Europe, the epidemic had crossed the Atlantic to Quebec in early June. Its spread upriver to Montreal and thence southward to New York was rapid. From numerous points along the seaboard detachments of regular soldiers were being hurried westward to the scene of war in Illinois. At Buffalo they embarked in several steamers and with them came the epidemic, disrupting for a time the expedition and spreading the disease far and wide. In Michigan, the cholera panic was no less extreme than the Indian scare, and with much better reason. Detroit was sorely stricken, and about one hundred townsmen perished. Although the epidemic soon ran its course, it returned at frequent intervals during the succeeding decades, and in 1834 its ravages in Michigan were even deadlier than those of the initial visitation in 1832.

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[32] The former Fort Dearborn garrison had been removed in the spring of 1831.

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CHAPTER 14

Birth of the Commonwealth

THIRTEEN COLONIES achieved their independence from Great Britain and established the government of the Confederation. The fundamental basis of this government was the equality of the states composing it, and to preserve this equality for the future the states claiming western lands surrendered them to the national government, which pledged itself to devote them to the formation of new states which should be admitted to the Union as equals of the existing commonwealths.

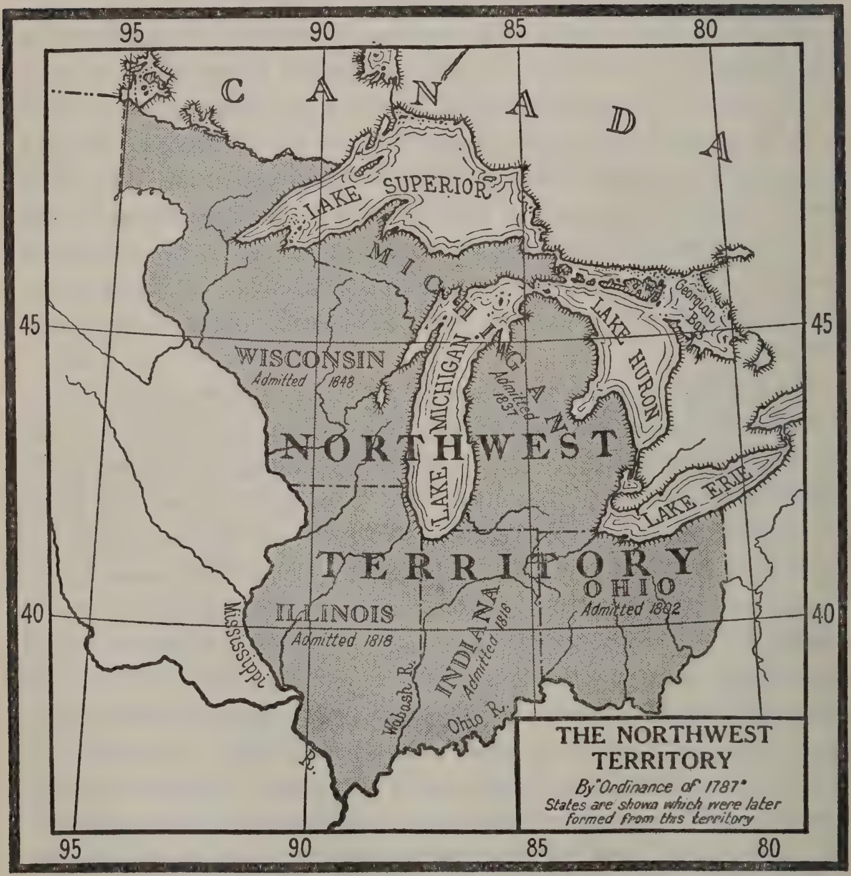
This basic policy found renewed expression in the Constitution of 1787; which gave to Congress the tutelage of the Territories and the authority to admit them to the Union at its discretion. Since 1789, thirty-five new states have been added to the original thirteen. But few of them found the pathway to statehood as thorny as Michigan, whose story is unique in many respects.

For its beginning we must turn to the fifth Article of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, which undertook to prescribe the number and to fix the boundaries of the states which were ultimately to be created. The existing absence of definite knowledge of the geography of the region in question rendered the wisdom of this procedure questionable, but with the valor of ignorance the framers of the Ordinance proceeded with the task. Not less than three states were to be created, and the entire territory was to be divided between them by lines approximately identical with the present eastern and western boundaries of Indiana, projected northward to the international line. But Congress, at its discretion, might also establish "one or two states in that part of the said Territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan."

For the sake of convenience in our further discussion this east-and-west dividing line may be known as the Ordinance Line. Although the language employed in the Ordinance is susceptible of varying interpretations, the most reasonable meaning would seem to be that if Congress should decide to organize more than three states, the northern boundary of the three in the southern tier should be the Ordinance Line, which should at the same time constitute the southern boundary of the northern state or states. The fifth article of the Ordinance further directed the admission to the Union of any state having 60,000 free white inhabitants, on the sole condition of the adoption by them of a republican form of government; and such admission might be granted even before the attainment of 60,000 population, if such action was deemed consistent with the national welfare.

In these provisions were planted the seeds of vast future turmoil, whose issue altered for all time the geographical and political complexion of Michigan. The maps of the Northwest available in 1787 commonly fixed the "southerly bend" of Lake Michigan at a considerable distance north of its true position, and it seems to have been assumed that the Ordinance Line, when projected eastward, would intersect the western shore of Lake Erie, thereby permitting Ohio to extend northward to the international boundary in Lake Erie. Even as late as 1802, the Act of Congress authorizing the people of Ohio to frame a constitution preparatory to admission to statehood, definitely recited this expectation. But about this time a doubt began to assail the Ohioans concerning the correctness of their geographical knowledge, and the constitution-makers who assembled at Chillicothe late in 1802 inserted it in the boundary clause of their new Constitution. If it should be found that the Ordinance Line did not intersect Lake Erie, or that it intersected it east of the mouth of the Maumee, then "with the assent of Congress" the northern boundary of the state should be a direct line drawn from the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan to the northern cape of Maumee Bay.

One may sympathize with the desire of the Ohioans, without approving the method adopted to achieve it. By a curious perversity of fate, Congress never formally admitted Ohio to statehood and to the present moment there is no agreement among



From Michigan History Wall Maps, A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

scholars upon the birth date of the State. Hence the effort of the convention-framers to repeal an important provision of the Ordinance of 1787, to which Ohio owed its very existence, passed for the moment unnoticed. But in January, 1805, Congress created Michigan Territory with the Ordinance Line as its southern boundary, thereby indicating its rejection of the boundary proviso of the Ohio Constitution. At Maumee Rapids was an ancient French-British trading center, to which a number of American families were added in the years following 1796. The community was a natural commercial and geographical outpost of Detroit, while it was separated from southern Ohio by a wide wilderness and by the Indian title to the country north of the Greenville Treaty Line. Quite naturally, therefore, it was treated as belonging to Michigan Territory, and was so governed for many years.

With the close of the War of 1812, the boundary issue, hitherto purely academic, sprang to life. The attention of all Ohioans had been directed northward for several years, and thousands of soldiers had served in the campaigns for the defense of the State and the recovery of Michigan Territory. Even before the war Congress had passed an Act (May 20, 1812) authorizing the President to have the northern and western boundaries of Ohio surveyed and marked in accordance with the Ohio Enabling Act of April 30, 1802, but the advent of war had compelled the postponement of the task. With the cause for the delay removed, on August 22, 1816 the Commissioner of the General Land Office directed that the work be undertaken.

The surveyor, one William Harris, proceeded to mark a line in 1817; but instead of running the Ordinance Line of 1787, as the Act of 1812 and the instruction of his superior directed, with calm contempt for his commission he surveyed the line demanded by the Ohio constitutional proviso of 1802, and reported his performance both to his official superior and to the Governor of Ohio. The Ohio Legislature made haste to "ratify" the Harris Line as the northern boundary of the State.[1]

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[1] On January 29, 1818.

Even before this the initial rape of Michigan's southern border had been perpetrated by Indiana, which became a State in 1816. The bill authorizing her to frame a constitution was introduced into the House on January 5, and, variously amended, became a law on April 13. In the progress of the bill through the House the clause establishing the northern boundary of the State at the Ordinance Line of 1787 had been quietly altered to read the 42nd degree of latitude; in the Senate this was again altered to "an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extreme of Lake Michigan," and thus the bill was enacted.

The ten-mile extension deprived Michigan of such present-day cities as Michigan City, South Bend, and Elkhart, together with the Lake Michigan shore line from Gary eastward; the line of 42° would have robbed her, in addition, of most of present-day Berrien, Cass, St. Joseph, and Branch Counties, including the cities of Niles, Dowagiac, Sturgis, and Coldwater. As it was, Indiana was disappointed, for her spokesmen had sought to obtain the mouth of the St. Joseph River, with its harbor and the control—then deemed important—of the commerce of that waterway; and as late as December, 1833 Representative Ewing was seeking in Congress to obtain for Indiana the St. Joseph River to its mouth as the boundary of the state.[2]

It may be doubted whether anyone in Michigan even heard of Indiana's raid upon her boundary before the passage of the law on April 13, 1816. Had it been otherwise, the Territory, still reeling from the blows dealt her in the late war, was in no condition to make effective protest. Nor was any made, apparently, in Congress.[3] But when the report of the Harris Survey of 1817 became known, the Governor and Judges of Michigan promptly protested to Congress against the Ohio aggression, and in doing so made formal record of their nonacquiescence in the Indiana aggression.[4]

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[2] Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan, "The Northern Boundary of Indiana," in Ind. Hist. Soc. *Publications,* VII, 289-321; speech of William Hendricks, January 6, 1835, *Ind. Hist. Colls.,* XII, 429-433.

[3] "The only man interested was the delegate from Indiana, and he was the chairman of the committee that arranged the boundaries." Larzelere, "The Boundaries of Michigan" in *Mich. Pioneer Colls.,* XXX, 17. Mrs. Sheehan, however, strongly implies that Senator Morrow of Ohio had an active rôle in the boundary matter, *op. cit.,* pp. 297-298.

The memorial stirred the Secretary of the Treasury to order the remarking of the Ohio boundary in compliance with the Act of 1812, and this was done during the summer of 1818 by surveyor John Fulton, although he neglected to establish the latitude of the Ordinance Line at either end, and in general performed his task incompletely and inaccurately. However, his survey of the Ordinance Line placed it five miles south of the Harris Line at the Indiana boundary and eight miles south at the Lake Erie end. The intervening tract of some 468 square miles, known ever since as the "Toledo Strip," was thus delineated as the area in controversy, and the fact now became clear that the Ordinance Line intersected Lake Erie, as Ohio had feared, east of the mouth of the Maumee.

Reports of both surveys were transmitted to Congress, where the matter rested until the summer of 1832. Meanwhile the settlement of southern Michigan and northern Ohio was proceeding apace, and the latter State, encouraged by the example set by New York, was embarking upon a program of canal construction, one of whose leading items was a waterway running from Lake Erie via the Maumee and the Miami to the Ohio. This improvement would insure the development of an important city at the mouth of the Maumee, and the prevalent economic ideas of the era rendered intolerable to Ohioans the prospect that the city their enterprise was to create should belong to another State.

To the people of Michigan, the issue seemed equally clear and no less vital. The agricultural resources of the Territory, like the population, were chiefly confined to its southern end, and to lose the Toledo Strip meant a material curtailment of both. Moreover the area in controversy had been guaranteed to Michigan by the most explicit language known to political science, and over it she had exercised unquestioned jurisdiction since the first establishment of the Territory. If political guarantees had any meaning, her right to the Toledo Strip was as clear as to the city of Detroit itself.

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[4] *Appeal of the Convention of Michigan to the People of the United States; with other Documents, in Relation to the Boundary Question* (Detroit, 1835), pp. 39-40. Memorial of January 3, 1818.

About this time, too, came an assault upon her borders from another direction. Following the admission of Illinois to statehood in 1818, the remainder of Illinois Territory, lying between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, had been attached to Michigan. From the first, however, the union was regarded as but temporary, and as early as 1824 agitation was begun for the erection of the western area into a separate Territory. In 1828 the House Committee on Territories gave the measure the benefit of its approval, but the townsmen of Detroit interposed an effective veto, since the boundary clauses of the bill were drawn to include Mackinac and the Sault, together with the adjacent country, which had belonged to Michigan Territory since its organization, in the new Territory. Undismayed by this setback, Judge Doty, the principal promoter of the measure, continued the agitation, until it met with ultimate success in July, 1836.[5]

Faced with threats of dismemberment on all sides, Michigan's leaders rallied to the defense, and one of the last acts of Governor Cass was the submission of a message to the Legislature in January, 1831, reviewing the history of the several boundary issues and making formal official record of Michigan's opposition to the raids in progress.[6] A year later the Legislature authorized a popular referendum on the question of statehood, and about the same time Senator Ewing of Ohio introduced in the Senate a bill "preparatory to the adjustment of the northern boundary of Ohio," directing the taking of the observations of latitude of the Ordinance Line, which surveyor Fulton had neglected to establish. In the Territorial election, held in October, 1832, the voters signified their desire for statehood and in

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[5] Beginning in 1834 the boundary clauses of the bills were modified to eliminate all east of the meridian of Mackinac, thereby removing the earlier opposition of the people living east of Lake Michigan.

[6] G. N. Fuller (editor), *Messages of the Governors of Michigan* (Lansing, 1925), I, 59-63.

January following the Territorial Legislature submitted a memorial to Congress on the subject, to which that body paid but scant attention.[7] In the session of 1834, however, the subject was extensively debated in both Senate and House, with Ohio's spokesmen making strenuous and eventually successful exertions to defeat or postpone the measure.

At this juncture of affairs the twenty-two-year-old Acting Governor of Michigan initiated a new and revolutionary course of action. Addressing the Legislature on September 1, 1834, he urged the Territory to abandon the rôle of suppliant, and having established by a census her possession of the requisite population, to frame a Constitution, establish a State government, elect Senators and a Representative, and *demand* admission to the Union as a matter of right.[8]

This program was executed in its entirety during the ensuing year. The census, promptly ordered by the Legislature, disclosed a population in the counties east of Lake Michigan in excess of 85,000.[9] With this fact established, a Constitutional Convention was called to meet at Detroit in May, 1835. Since the members knew they were engaged in a revolutionary procedure, they stated their case in the document in language which breathed the Spirit of 1776.[10] In October the voters approved their work by an overwhelming majority,[11] a complete set of state and national officials was elected, and the new State government went into peaceable operation.

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[7] Larzelere, "Boundaries of Michigan" in *Mich. Pioneer Colls.*, XXX, 20; and Senate Doc. No. 57, 22 Cong., 2 Sess.

[8] *Appeal of the People of Michigan*, pp. 56-58. Appended to the message was an exhaustive argument which Delegate Lucius Lyon had addressed to the Chairman of the House Committee on Territories in January, 1834, *ibid.*, pp. 58-103.

[9] The Ordinance of 1787 guaranteed admission upon attainment of 60,000, and suggested that it be granted earlier when national interests should permit. The Enabling Act for Indiana was passed when that Territory had a population of only 35,000.

[10] "We the people of the Territory of Michigan . . . believing that the time has arrived when our present political condition ought to cease and the right of self-government be asserted, and availing ourselves of the provisions . . . which entitles us to admission into the Union, . . . do by our delegates in convention assembled, mutually agree to form ourselves into a free and independent state . . . and do ordain and establish the following constitution for the government of the same." Condensed from Preamble to the Constitution of 1835.

[11] 6,299 to 1,359.

The fact that all this was done during the administration of the President who, in 1832, had crushed the incipient rebellion in South Carolina detracts nothing from the boldness of the proceeding. Although President Jackson sought to stay the development of the movement in Michigan by dismissing Acting Governor Mason from office and appointing Secretary John S. Horner of Virginia to replace him, he made no real effort to support the authority of that luckless official, who upon his arrival in Michigan was publicly ridiculed, jeered at, and then ignored. Before his dismissal from office, Acting Governor Mason, with a view to prolonging the territorial organization for the benefit of the counties west of Lake Michigan, had issued a proclamation convening the Territorial Legislature at Green Bay, January 1, 1836. A "rump" session was held there in January, but without the benefit of Governor Horner's presence it could accomplish nothing, and after much futile discussion the legislators adjourned.

So, ingloriously, after thirty-one years of activity Michigan Territory winked out of existence. In its stead a State *de facto,* with authority then and ever since recognized by the people of Michigan, but whose legality was denied and whose existence was ignored by the Federal government, had come into being. Under its authority taxes were levied and collected, justice was administered and criminals were punished, marriages were solemnized and births legalized, and civil contracts were made and enforced. The situation was anomalous and one which could not last, yet for almost a year and a half the people pursued their daily vocations as peaceably and securely, on the whole, as ever before or since in Michigan. A more striking illustration of their inherent political sense and capacity for self-government would be difficult to find.

We may now resume the story of the boundary dispute with Ohio, which is intimately interwoven with that of the attainment of statehood. Although the issues at stake were vital to the future welfare of three great commonwealths, a certain spirit of levity tempered the determination with which the conflict was waged. That ultimate victory should rest with Ohio was foreordained. A sovereign state with population of a million, she carried a weight at the ballot box and at Washington by which puny Michigan, a dependent Territory one-tenth as populous, could not fail to be overborne. To her own influence were added, as the struggle progressed, the votes of Indiana and Illinois, whose northern boundaries had been established in disregard of the Ordinance Line.

Although both Michigan and Ohio summoned their militia to arms, and the two Governors led their respective forces to the tented field, no fighting ensued nor was any seriously intended. In this brief survey, therefore, we may refrain from reciting the comic-opera aspects of the "Toledo War," saving our limited space for the statement of its substantial results. In February, 1835 the Ohio Legislature passed a law extending the boundaries of the three adjacent counties to the Harris Line, and appointing Commissioners to run and re-mark it. Michigan responded with an Act providing heavy penalties for any infringement of her territory. Governor Mason led a Michigan army to Toledo, and Governor Lucas, an Ohio array to Perrysburg. President Jackson dispatched peace commissioners to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and, in general, interposed his influence to prevent the commission of actual violence.

These measures, supported by the sober good sense of both the warring factions, proved effective, and the further conduct of the controversy was transferred to Washington. A long and earnest debate, which eventually ended in a characteristic political compromise, ensued in Congress. The election of 1836 was close at hand, and, whatever the abstract justice of Michigan's cause might be, not even President Jackson could afford to antagonize at such a juncture the voters of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. On April 2, 1836 an act was passed for the admission of Michigan, conditioned upon the prior assent, by a convention of delegates elected for this express purpose, to the boundaries prescribed in the Act.

To one unaccustomed to practical political methods in America, these were sufficiently surprising. On the south, Indiana was to retain her existing boundary, and Ohio was to be given the Harris Line, running to the north cape of Maumee Bay, for which she had all along been contending. To Michigan, as a sop for her defeat, that portion of the Upper Peninsula extending westward from the meridian of Mackinac to the present Wisconsin boundary was donated, unasked and undesired.

Thus was demonstrated anew the principle that in democratic America might at the ballot box makes right. Not yet, however, were the people of Michigan reconciled to the demonstration. The State Legislature made due provision for a "Convention of Assent" to meet at Ann Arbor on September 26. It met, rejected the proffered boundaries by a decisive vote, and adjourned, leaving matters thus at a complete stalemate. But it is the business of rulers to govern, and of politicians to gain office. A whole school of the latter, thirsting for the sweets of office, were eagerly awaiting the attainment of statehood to realize their ends. A few Democratic political leaders assumed the authority to convoke a second "Convention of Assent" to assemble at Ann Arbor on December 14, 1836. It assembled, "assented" to the Act of Congress, and adjourned.

There were many practical reasons for desiring an escape from the impasse in which Michigan, as a State *de facto,* and the Federal government found themselves. President Jackson, with a straight face, reported to Congress on December 27 that Michigan had complied with the provisions of her conditional act of admission. Further heated debate ensued in the Senate, especial objection being made to the Preamble of the State Constitution; but on January 5, 1837 the bill passed the Senate and some days later, the House. On January 26 Michigan became a State *in the Union,* and her two Senators and one Representative, who had been cooling their heels outside the doors of Congress since December, 1835, were at last admitted to membership in that body.

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PART II

The Developing Commonwealth

By Sidney Glazer

CHAPTER 15

The Boy Governor

THE PERIOD OF pioneer statehood was one of the most exciting and colorful eras in Michigan history. The removal of the restrictions of Federal control associated with Territorial status, placed the responsibility of government entirely in the hands of men chosen by the Michigan voters. Since this change occurred during an interval of nation-wide prosperity and unusual expansion in the West, the proponents of statehood confidently prophesied an auspicious future. The mistaken policies of certain Michigan leaders, as judged by later generations, were similar to those made elsewhere and resulted from an unrestrained enthusiasm for "bigness" and a rapid growth in the new State.

A fundamental desire for good government is evidenced in the painstaking labors of the Constitutional Convention which convened in Detroit on May 11, 1835. The assemblage, composed of eighty-nine elected members, was very conscious of the importance of the new frame of government that it was delegated to formulate. The personnel was well qualified since it included many men who possessed a background of experience in the Territorial government which enabled them to understand the needs and problems of Michigan. Not a few of them were to serve in high offices at a later date, including Robert McClelland, John Barry, and William Woodbridge, who were subsequently elected to the governorship.

Only thirty-eight days were required by the Convention for its task. This achievement was in part the result of the earnest efforts of the members. Also, the experience of other states was freely utilized and many features were borrowed from their constitutions, along with numerous governmental practices which had been introduced during the Territorial period.

The Preamble to the Constitution emphasized the right of the people of Michigan, in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, to organize a state government. Article I comprised a State Bill of Rights with a specific enumeration of the basic American liberties. Considerable controversy was waged before the final acceptance of the second article, which granted the suffrage to all "white male citizens" who had attained the age of twenty-one. Numerous franchise restrictions, based upon property requirements and long periods of residence, remained in many of the older states at this time; and the liberal Michigan policy was frowned upon by a few conservative elements within the Territory.

The legislative powers of the new state were vested in a Senate and a House of Representatives with a provision that the latter should contain not less than forty-eight nor more than one hundred members, and the Senate one-third as many. It is an interesting commentary that this ratio still applies in determining the composition of the Michigan Legislature. The framers of the first State Constitution had considerable confidence in the law-making branch of government and placed few restrictions upon it. The governor, whose powers were more limited than at a later time, was to be elected for a two-year term. A lieutenant governor, who also was to preside over the Senate, was to be chosen by the voters, but other state officials, in general, were to be appointed by the chief executive, subject to senatorial confirmation.

The judiciary was to consist of a Supreme Court and other courts which the Legislature might desire to create. The establishment of both probate and justice courts was mandatory.[1] The emphasis upon the latter suggests the influence of Jacksonian democracy, since the justice court was regarded as a "poor man's tribunal."

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[1] For several years, Supreme Court Justices held court in the different counties and thus the name "Circuit Courts" arose.

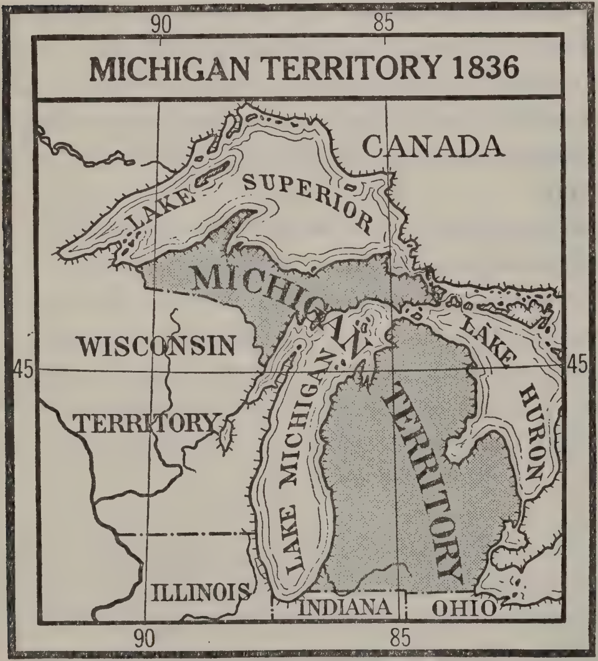
Education received adequate recognition. The Michigan Constitution was the first in the United States to provide for a State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Legislature was also enjoined to encourage "the promotion of Intellectual, Scientific, and Agricultural improvement" and to provide for a system of common schools. This was accompanied by a requirement that each district school should be maintained for a minimum of three months in each year.

The prohibition of slavery and involuntary servitude except as a means of punishment for crime, represents a guarantee of personal liberty found earlier in the Ordinance of 1787. The encouragement of internal improvements of all types by the State illustrates the willingness of the framers of the document to undertake a program which was soon to become the subject of earnest controversy.

Both contemporary and later opinion have evaluated Michigan's first Constitution highly. It was comparatively free from clauses designed to express personal animosities or extravagant individual notions. Despite its relative brevity, the document reflected the opinions and wishes of the time and embodied the growing democratic thought of the age. Many of the policies that it prescribed have, with modifications, been followed ever since.

After the ratification of the Constitution elections for the purpose of selecting the occupants of the newly created offices were necessary. Two parties, the Whig and the Democratic, had been recognized since the late Territorial period. The Whig party drew its greatest strength from the more conservative elements in Detroit and from some of the other older communities. Although it had opposed statehood, many of its leading members had been elected to the Constitutional Convention, where they had exercised a restraining influence. The Democrats had led the fight for statehood and had taken a liberal attitude on most contemporary issues.

Judged by present-day standards, neither party was well organized, since in the Territorial era politics had been largely personal in character and not closely related to national issues. The Democrats, however, through the aggressive leadership of Stevens T. Mason, their nominee for governor, acquired more unity than did their opponents. The Whigs failed to select a ticket and Mason, with ease, became the first elected governor. The Democrats also won a sweeping victory in the Legislature and the other elective offices.



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A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

Governor Mason's career illustrates the character of Michigan politics at the close of the Territorial period. The chief executive, who was born in Virginia in 1811, was brought to Michigan by his father, John Mason, who held the office of Territorial Secretary. Upon Mason's resignation from this position it was given to his son, who was only nineteen years of age. Early criticisms of the appointment diminished as the new Secretary (later Acting Governor) displayed qualities of administrative ability, an understanding of the basic problems of government, a sympathy for the underprivileged, and a capacity for leadership which were combined with a very pleasing and courteous personality.

Mason's popularity was enhanced by his leadership of the faction that championed statehood and by an aggressive assertion of Michigan's claims in the boundary controversy with Ohio. As a result it was not strange that an individual twenty-four years of age, Virginian by birth, and a resident of Michigan by virtue of Federal appointment for but little more than five years, should become its first elected governor.

Despite its questionable legal status, the State government became operative upon the convening of the Legislature in November, 1835. For over a year, however, most of its energy was expended upon problems of organization. The creation of the necessary governmental agencies, the fixing of salaries, and the selection of persons to fill offices were among the numerous problems which of necessity claimed the attention of the new government.

In 1837, however, after the formal admission of Michigan to the Union, the Legislature turned its attention to a study of internal improvements. This question was one of vital concern, since the future prosperity of Michigan could only be assured by the construction of a more adequate system of railroads and canals than private capital was prepared to undertake. Only in this way could more settlers be induced to migrate to the recently established commonwealth. During the Territorial era, demands for canals were numerous and in areas where this form of transportation did not seem feasible the emphasis was placed upon railroads. Neighboring states had already instituted programs of construction in anticipation of their further economic development, and it seemed reasonable and essential for Michigan to follow their example.

Ultimately a program of improvements for nearly all of the settled portions of the State was approved. Its foremost feature was an ambitious project for the construction of railroads. One of the three roads authorized, the Central (the present Michigan Central) had been incorporated as the Detroit and Ypsilanti in January, 1838. It was slowly extended westward through the second tier of counties. Another railroad, the Southern, was projected from Monroe to Lake Michigan through the southern tier of counties. A third, to be known as the Northern, was to run from Port Huron to a Lake Michigan terminal. This program of public ownership should not be construed as evidence of socialism, for construction of railroads by private enterprise was encouraged and some state assistance to private companies was authorized. Numerous charters were granted to companies that perhaps anticipated, but did not receive, state aid.

The Clinton and Kalamazoo Canal, from Mt. Clemens to the mouth of the Kalamazoo River, was planned as a project to link Lakes St. Clair and Michigan, while the North Canal was to connect the Saginaw and Grand Rivers. Additional canals, each with a smaller mileage, were projected for areas not otherwise served by some major transportation artery. The Upper Peninsula's share in the program was to be the proposed St. Mary's Canal, which would afford a passage around the rapids at Sault Ste Marie. The improvement of some of the more important rivers was also included in the initial plans.

This entire internal improvement program, developed in part by political expediency, was far in advance of the needs of the time. In the process of planning, slight heed was paid to the question of finance. Although some help was anticipated from the Federal government through its policy of assigning a surplus in the Treasury to the states, and the State's five per cent share of the public land sales within its borders, the bulk of the money was to be secured through borrowing.

The Legislature optimistically authorized a loan of five million dollars, entrusting the negotiation of the transaction to the young Governor. It was a difficult undertaking since the State credit was poor and Mason was inexperienced in the realm of high finance. He entered into a contract with the Morris Canal and Banking Company of New York which made the Company the agent of the State in disposing of the securities. The State actually received little more than two million dollars from the concern (which soon became bankrupt) while it was obligated to pay the interest and bear the responsibility for the five million dollars of bonds.[2] While the financial loss thus incurred was large, this was not as serious as the loss of the State's reputation and credit from which it did not recover for several years. Governor Mason's political standing and popularity suffered a corresponding decline.

Financial troubles of another character plagued the new state because of the ineffectiveness of its banking structure during the Panic of 1837. Fifteen banks with a total nominal capitalization of seven million dollars had been authorized even before Michigan was admitted to the Union, although their actual capital totaled only $1,500,000. These institutions were not confined to Detroit, but instead were distributed among the leading communities of the State.

When President Jackson declared war upon the Second Bank of the United States and ordered the government funds in its custody transferred to the state banks, Michigan's share was $1,895,000, which was deposited in the Bank of Michigan and the Farmers and Mechanics Bank. A second installment of $286,751 was subsequently sent to Michigan banks. These banks, like those in many other states, issued notes greatly in excess of the government specie that they held. Optimism was in the air, money was cheap and abundant, and promoters and businessmen entertained extravagant visions of immediate wealth. They felt certain that land would increase rapidly in value because of the growth of population and the public improvements that were being planned. Accordingly, many were encouraged to speculate in real estate instead of developing businesses and industries.

Michigan's first banking laws, passed in the session of 1836, made provision for the appointment of a Bank Commissioner and, in other respects, seemed to guarantee a safety equal to that found in many of the older states. During the next year, however, the Legislature passed the so-called "general banking law" whereby any twelve freeholders in a county could form an association for carrying on a banking business. Numerous requirements were imposed to insure sound banking but enforcement of regulations was difficult.

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[2] A portion of this sum was subsequently repudiated on the assumption that there was no moral obligation.

The 1837 law received enthusiastic approval from those desiring bank charters. It seemed to be generally assumed that extensive bank loans would relieve debtors from their burdens and secure relief from the nation-wide depression of 1837. An abundance of paper money was assured since banks had the right to issue notes.

Many of these banks were organized in remote and almost inaccessible places, which was one reason for terming them "wildcat banks." Only too frequently the assets were overvalued and various irregularities were practiced. Major efforts were made by the Bank Commissioner to induce the weaker associations to call in their circulation and to reduce their indebtedness. A financial disaster could not be averted and failures were numerous. In 1839 twenty-nine banks were in the hands of receivers. Only five chartered banks in Detroit and seven outside of the city survived. With losses great and much circulating medium worthless, the Legislature, in the same year, prohibited the establishment of more banks.

These reverses were inevitably reflected in politics. Although the Democrats had been virtually unchallenged in the election of 1835, in the campaign of 1837 their opponents offered greater opposition. The general satisfaction with the Mason administration, however, and the fact that as yet the effects of the panic were not as noticeable as they were to become at a later date led to the re-election of the Governor and his ticket.

Until the close of Mason's second term in 1839 the majority of voters in Michigan remained loyal to the Democratic party. However, the political party in power at the time of a financial panic and during the depression that follows is usually held responsible for such difficulties by the electorate, which often turns to the remedies offered by the opposition. The popular reaction against the Democrats which began in 1839 was not confined to Michigan but extended over the entire country and resulted in the choice of a Whig for President in 1840.

The state election of 1839 came when the effects of the panic were most disturbing. Prices continued to fall, with wheat showing a decline from $1.20 to $.75 per bushel within a few months. The Whig press accused the Mason administration of bringing the evils of wildcat banking, the breakdown of credit, the currency confusion, deflation, the unsatisfactory results of the five-million-dollar loan, and the general financial collapse. The Democratic organs reminded their readers of the aristocratic Federalist parentage of the opposition and charged that the Whigs would neglect the interests of the common people.

A spirited campaign, which signified the arrival of effective party organizations in Michigan, followed. The Whigs displayed more vigor and unity than did the Democrats, who were rather openly divided into radical and conservative factions. The "retrenchment and reform" slogan of William Woodbridge, the Whig nominee, gave him a 1,200-vote margin over Elon Farnsworth, the Democratic candidate for governor.

Tension did not end with the election. Two incidents which took place at the opening of the session of the Legislature in January, 1840 illustrate the bitter political feelings of the time. As retiring Lieutenant Governor Edward Mundy, a Democrat, was leaving the Capitol on the first day of the session, he was assaulted by a Whig partisan. The Democratic press termed this attack the beginning of a reign of terror. The second event occurred when Governor Mason, who had taken no part in the campaign because of his wish to retire from public life, sent his farewell message to the Legislature. This was a customary procedure in some states at the time and is now the established practice in Michigan. The Legislature, however, refused to receive the message and was unwilling to give it a place in the State records. Some of the members even treated it with ridicule and sarcasm although it contained nothing to warrant such discourtesy.

These outbursts did not appeal to the new governor. William Woodbridge was born in Connecticut, practiced law in

Ohio, and came to Michigan in 1815 as Secretary of the Territory. In 1819 he became the first delegate to Congress from the Territory of Michigan. In 1828 he was appointed a judge of the Territorial Supreme Court. He was a prominent member both of the Constitutional Convention of 1835 and of the first Senate of the new state. He was a lawyer of reputation, a lover of books, a man of strong character, and conservative in his political views. After serving as Governor for a little more than a year, he was elected United States Senator by the Legislature, whereupon he resigned as chief executive of the State and Lieutenant Governor James Gordon filled the office until the end of the biennial term in 1842.

The militant partisanship of the 1839 state election was revived in the presidential campaign of 1840. The Whig nominee, Harrison, was personally popular in Michigan, since he was a western man thoroughly familiar with the life of the pioneers. He had been a delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory and Governor of the Indiana Territory when the Michigan region was a part of these territories. He defeated the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 and thus received the name of "Old Tippecanoe." In the War of 1812 he commanded the troops that drove the British out of Michigan and defeated them at the Battle of the Thames. This background appealed to voters who liked a man "with a smell of gunpowder" on him. The Whigs represented President Van Buren, Democrat, as a spokesman of the wealthy East and uninterested in the welfare of a pioneer state. Laborers were promised two dollars a day and roast beef if the Whigs should come into power.

The Whigs of Michigan organized monster parades to capitalize on the anti-Van Buren sentiment. Features of many were a log cabin mounted on wheels, drawn by several yoke of oxen, a barrel of hard cider at the door with a dipper so that anyone could freely drink, coonskins nailed on the sides of the cabin or a live coon on the roof. It is said that at one Whig meeting in Detroit as many as 15,000 people came from outside the city, which at that time had a population of only 9,000. Six hundred people from the village of Farmington rode in one hundred and three wagons. A delegation came from Dearborn in a log cabin drawn by twenty yoke of oxen. A company of men walked in from the country, rolling along the road, for several miles, a ball fifteen feet in diameter and singing as they marched, "Keep the ball a-rolling!"

Songs played a great part in the campaign. One popular Whig refrain ran as follows:

What has caused this great commotion, motion, motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball a-rolling on, on,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too.
And with them we will beat little Van.
Van, Van, Van! Oh, he's a used up man.
And with them we will beat little Van.

Another was sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne":

Should good old cider be despised
And ne'er regarded more?
Should plain log cabins be despised
Our fathers built of yore?
For the true old style, my boys,
For the true old style,
Let's take a mug of cider now,
For the true old style.

The Democrats also conducted a vigorous campaign for Van Buren, but Harrison carried the state by the close vote of 22,759 to 21,096.

This was the final Whig victory in Michigan, for the party failed to achieve the anticipated state reforms. "When the Whigs came into power they tried to reform a bankrupt State," it has been said. "The panic had so completely disorganized finances and had destroyed so many business enterprises that no political party could, within two years, restore order out of such a chaos. The recovery from the crash was the work of years. The Whigs had been too sanguine during the campaign and had promised more reforms than they could put into effect; consequently the administration did not meet the expectations of many of the voters and a large number of them became dissatisfied with the party.[3]

In the 1841 election the Whigs were not only discredited, but they were weakened also by factional differences. John S. Barry, a Democrat, was chosen governor by a plurality of over 5,000 votes, ushering in an era of Democratic rule which lasted until 1854.

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[3] Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan,* pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER 16

Growing Pains

THE FORTIES AND early fifties were characterized by numerous adjustments. Many additional precedents were established to make government more effective. New counties were created and additional areas were opened for settlement. Gradual improvements in the means of transportation and communication rapidly broke down many of the earlier traits of self-sufficiency and isolation. There were many evidences of a greater interest in national affairs and more emphasis was placed upon politics and the activities of political parties. In the southern counties, especially, the pioneer mode of life was rapidly giving way to an emphasis upon the community.

The growth of the State was both continuous and rapid. In 1840 only two cities, Detroit, with 9,102 and Ann Arbor, with 3,600, had as many as 3,000 inhabitants, and only five towns numbered between 2,000 and 3,000. In 1854 the state census revealed a population of 509,374 for Michigan in comparison with the 212,267 of 1840. Even more noticeable was the increase in the number of towns, of which many were as yet nonexistent in 1840.

This population was primarily dependent upon an agricultural economy, despite the presence of numerous small manufacturing establishments such as sawmills, distilleries, breweries, and flour mills which supplied an adjacent hinterland. Although each farm was, to a large extent, a self-sufficient unit, wheat and other cash crops had been introduced. Many farmers turned unsuccessfully to silk and sugar beets in the hope of finding products whose marketing price was high and transportation costs low.

The substantial increase each year in the number of milk cows and sheep is evidence of profitable farming. An emphasis upon purebred cattle began in the forties and was accompanied generally by a greater interest in scientific husbandry which was further stimulated by county agricultural societies. Even more important than the county societies was the Michigan Agricultural Society, which was founded in 1849. Under its auspices the first State Fair was held at Detroit. The early elaborate prize lists of this annual event testify to the rapid advancement in agriculture.

Politically, the Democrats ruled without any serious challenge. They elected to office men who, ordinarily, were conservative and who supported such policies as were suited to the needs of a rapidly growing agricultural state. The successful administrator of this era is well typified by Governor John Barry (1841-45 and 1851-52). He practiced strict economy and adopted standard business methods; and his use of the veto to reduce public expenditures was frequent. It is said that on one occasion he sold the hay cut from the State Capitol grounds for three dollars. He even refused the services of a private secretary, for which an appropriation had been made, on the grounds that the State could not afford this outlay. "He was an out-and-out Jeffersonian Democrat," said one who knew him, "and advocated a limited and rigid construction of the Constitution. He believed that we were drifting away from both its letter and spirit; that we were governed too much rather than too little; that State sovereignty was being gradually usurped by the United States Government, and that the line of jurisdiction between the two was fast fading out; that corporations needed watching, and their powers kept within the limits of their charters." [1]

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[1] H. H. Riley, "John S. Barry," *Mich. Pioneer Colls.*, XI, 231.

Alpheus Felch, William Greenly, Epaphroditus Ransom, Robert McClelland, and Andrew Parsons were the other governors of this period.[2] All were successful in achieving a program of stabilization. Banking laws were modified and the State's credit was restored by the reduction of the debt. The last step was achieved in part through the sale of the State-owned railroads to private companies in 1846. Little objection was raised against a policy which marked the final abandonment of the earlier program of State-owned internal improvements.

State issues gave rise to bitter contests. Few problems led to greater controversy than did that over the site of the State Capital, which originally was at Detroit. The Constitution of 1835, however, provided that in 1847 a permanent location should be determined by the Legislature. One objection to Detroit was that the Capital would be "at the mercy of the enemy's guns across the river in case of war." Another argument was that "no poor man could become Governor as the salary (then $1,500) would not support him in the gay city, while it was sufficient to enable the poor but ambitious man to live in the simplicity of the interior villages." [3]

There was a feeling, also, on the part of members from the interior of the State that the Capital should be moved in order to escape an undue Detroit influence. It was said that when important measures were pending before the Legislature "the influence of the social circle and of ladies' society was brought to bear upon members, and many will remember that the influence of 'quail parties' and 'quiet suppers' was often alluded to as the principal motive for the passage of many important acts of legislation." [4]

When the question came up for consideration, a large number of ambitious cities and villages presented their claims. Undoubtedly the geographical location and the difficulty of deciding in favor of any of the main contestants were the basic factors in arriving at a final decision. On March 16, 1847 the act of the Legislature to locate the Capital in Lansing Township, County of Ingham, was signed. Almost as much trouble arose, however, over naming the village that would grow up at the Capital as was experienced in locating it. Among the names proposed were Harrison, Huron, Franklin, Washington, Fulton, LaFayette, Houghton, Kinderhook, Marcellus, Rushridge, El Dorado, Thorbush, Wright, Tyler, Cass, and Swedenborg. The Legislature at first adopted the name Michigan. But when that body met in 1848 for its first session in the new Capitol, bills were introduced in both houses to change the name and Lansing was finally agreed upon. It was named for the township whose name probably in turn originated in an Eastern locality from which some of the early settlers of Michigan came. Commissioners appointed for the purpose platted the town and constructed a wooden building at a cost of about $22,500 for the office of the governor, the legislative chambers, and the State Library.

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[2] Greenly and Parsons were Lieutenant Governors who became chief executives when their predecessors were elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature.

[3] Frank Robson, "How Lansing Became the Capital," *Mich. Pioneer Colls.*, XI, 240.

[4] Levi Bishop, "Recollections," *Mich. Pioneer Colls.*, I, 513.

Continuous changes in State administrative procedure and demands for reform resulted in a second Constitution for Michigan in 1850. Many neighboring states had revised their constitutions during the late forties to embody more democratic features; and it was only natural that the Michigan electorate should desire its government to embrace some of the same liberal characteristics. A limitation upon the power of the Legislature to pass special acts, a demand for greater rights for married women, a desire for reform in local government, and a popular sentiment for a restriction upon certain powers of the governor were foremost among the issues leading to dissatisfaction with the existing Constitution. At a general election on November 6, 1849, the vote for a Constitutional Convention met with overwhelming approval (33,193 to 4,095).

Although the Lansing Convention of 1850 rejected many suggestions, the new Constitution incorporated certain significant modifications. The Legislature was to be elected for a two-year term instead of annually, and regular sessions were also to be held only once in two years. All corporations other than municipalities were to be organized under general laws. Legislation could take effect only after ninety days from the close of the session unless otherwise authorized by two-thirds of the members. A number of specific restrictions were imposed on the Legislature as a method of assuring, in contemporary opinion, democratic controls. At the same time, the amending process was liberalized by a provision authorizing the submission of a proposal to the voters if two-thirds of the law makers approved.

The governor and lieutenant governor were made ineligible for any office or appointment from the Legislature during the terms for which they were elected. This restriction was inserted to prevent governors from becoming United States Senators during their tenure of office. Numerous judicial reforms were made, including an increase in the jurisdiction of justices of the peace. Provision was made for the election of all State officers and also members of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan and the State Board of Education. Modifications in local government emphasized greater efficiency and more popular control.

The Convention rejected proposals to grant suffrage either to women or Negroes, but the former were given a very favorable status in clauses securing to married women sole use of their property and increasing their property rights as citizens.

The Convention anticipated the need for further revision by requiring that in 1866 and every sixteenth year thereafter the voters should decide upon the need for a new constitution.[5] Despite some criticisms of the document, which was more lengthy and specific than its predecessor, the voters approved by a wide margin the work of the Constitutional Convention. Not until 1908 did the Michigan electorate replace the Constitution of 1850 with a new frame of government.

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[5] The Legislature retained the privilege of submitting the question of a constitutional convention to the electorate.

The temperance question, which rose as a major issue in the Constitutional Convention of 1850, is deserving of separate mention, since regulation of the liquor traffic has been a recurrent problem from the time of Cadillac. The main emphasis in the French and English periods was a curbing of the sale of spirits to the Indians rather than one of temperance on the part of the white population. The selling of liquor to the natives was a profitable trade which persisted in spite of official decrees.

In 1805 the first Michigan Territorial government required a license for the dispensing of liquors and provided penalties for disorder resulting from intoxication. Such measures, however, were not the result of anti-alcohol crusades; for in the pioneer days in Michigan it was customary for the settler to keep a jug of whisky in the house to pass around at logging bees, barn raisings, husking bees, elections, and the many other neighborly and social gatherings. Very popular was the refrain which ran:

Ha, Ha, Ha! You and me
Little Brown Jug don't I love thee.

Often when the frame of a building was completed, a man would climb upon the ridgepole and christen it with a bottle of whisky. The use of alcoholic beverages was common, and their consumption was excessive. It has been estimated that Detroit, with a population of 5,000 in 1834, had 100 liquor shops.

Temperance movements were numerous in New England during the twenties of the last century, and Michigan received its influence mainly from this source. Temperance bodies were organized both at Monroe and Detroit in 1830. A Young Men's Temperance Society was started in the First Presbyterian Church in Detroit in 1835 and others followed rapidly. Ministers usually served as the lecturers for the reform and fervently emphasized the moral and social rather than the medical implications of the problem.

New zeal was added to the cause when the Washingtonian temperance movement swept over Michigan. This popular nation-wide crusade was started by a tailor, a carpenter, a silver-smith, a coachmaker, and two blacksmiths who sat drinking in a Baltimore tavern in 1840. They decided to hear a temperance lecture in a near-by church and were won over to total abstinence; they signed the pledge and then attempted to convert other drinkers. Washingtonianism spread over Michigan "from town to town, converting everybody by the irresistible power of its advocates. Never before had there been such a fire-bell in the night, arresting the drinker in his downward career." Other temperance organizations, less colorful and spectacular than the Washingtonian, reached large numbers and antiliquor legislation resulted. In 1845 the granting of liquor licenses was placed under popular control. A local option law was also passed in that year permitting the voters at each township and municipal election to decide whether or not liquor licenses might be issued in their respective townships, villages, or cities.

Before the Constitutional Convention assembled in Detroit in 1850, the temperance people encouraged John B. Gough, an advocate of national repute, to come to the city and address large mass meetings, at which prohibition sentiment was greatly increased. The Convention received petitions from all over the State demanding prohibition of the liquor traffic by a constitutional provision, as had been done in Maine and several other states. The subject received considerable discussion in the Convention and this short provision was inserted in the new Constitution: "The Legislature shall not pass any act authorizing the granting of licenses for the sale of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors." This ambiguous statement did not actually forbid the liquor traffic.

Next followed a struggle between the advocates of a license system and prohibition which has lasted through much of the State's history. The Legislature of 1851 failed to pass any regulatory law. Public sentiment favored prohibition and the Legislature of 1853 was elected largely on that issue. The "drys" secured numerous petitions for prohibition, one of which, 1,300 feet long and containing thousands of names, was said to have been the longest petition ever offered in Michigan.

The Legislature responded with a prohibition law, but with the proviso that it must be submitted to the people for ratification. The popular vote was 40,449 in favor and 23,054 in the negative. The "wets" appealed to the judiciary and the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional. In 1855 the Legislature passed a new prohibition law which went into effect in May of that year. It forbade the manufacture or sale of "spirituous or intoxicating liquors or any mixed liquors." (An Amendment of 1854 excepted cider, beer, and wine of domestic manufacture.)

"This prohibition law (of 1855) remained on the statute books for twenty years," says a writer. "It had teeth and whenever efforts were made to enforce it, it was effective. But the demoralization caused by the Civil War and the large influx of population with ideals and habits quite different from those of the Puritan stock which had so largely predominated led to laxity of enforcement and observance during the latter part of the period. Thus a reaction came."[6] Usually this prohibition law was openly and flagrantly defied in Detroit and not well enforced in other places. Not until the formation of other organizations later in the century, with new techniques of appeal, was the cause of temperance advanced.

The encouragement given to public education during the first two decades of statehood represented the continuation of a policy inaugurated, largely through the influence of New England settlers, during the Territorial period. An act of 1827 provided for a system of primary schools but the measure was not sufficiently inclusive to assure, in all instances, the establishment of schools, nor did it require free education. Amendments added at later sessions of the Legislative Council resulted in the establishment of the school district, with its own inspectors, as the basic unit in Michigan's educational system.

The first Constitution of the State required the maintenance of a school in each district for at least three months in every year and made provision for a Superintendent of Public Instruction.

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[6] Elmer Houser, "Wet or Dry," *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XIV, 282.

John D. Pierce, a Brown University graduate who was sent into the state in 1831 by the famous American Home Missionary Society, was selected for the office. He was familiar with the most advanced principles of pedagogy of the time and his thorough program of supervision welded the existing district schools, with their limited facilities, into an effective system.

Although the early Superintendents had been unsuccessful in securing legislation to provide for free schools, their influence aided the accomplishment of this goal in Detroit, which was allowed to combine its numerous school districts into one unit in 1838. This consolidation afforded better educational facilities than the city had previously enjoyed, and in 1842 Detroit, with previous legislative sanction, modified its entire administrative structure for education and also established free schools. A legislative act of 1846 enabled other towns to follow the example of Detroit. As late as 1850, however, the majority of school districts required payment of tuition to supplement the income received from the State (the source of which was a fund derived from the sale of lands donated to the state by the Federal government) and from local taxation.

To remedy this situation the Constitution of 1850 provided that "the Legislature shall within five years from the adoption of this Constitution provide and establish a system of primary schools, whereby a school shall be kept without charge for tuition for at least three months in each school year in every school district in the State, and all instruction in said school shall be conducted in the English language." The principle of free schools was not as yet entirely acceptable, however, and the Legislature failed to make complete provision for them until 1869.

Michigan educators were among the first in the nation to emphasize adequate teacher-training facilities. In March, 1849 two acts were passed by the Legislature providing for a Normal School. The next year another bill consolidated and amended the two earlier ones, and, under this measure of 1850, the School was formally authorized. The same law also created a State Board of Education which was given power to locate, organize, and manage the School whose purpose was the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching, in all the various branches that pertain to a good common school education, in the mechanical arts, in the arts of husbandry and agricultural chemistry, in the fundamental laws of the United States, and concerning the rights and duties of citizens.

Twenty-five sections of salt-spring lands were appropriated as a gesture of support for the institution. A number of towns made bids for the school but the State Board of Education selected Ypsilanti, which offered $13,500 in cash, rooms for the use of the school until a building could be constructed, and payment of the salary of the principal teacher of the model, or training, school for five years. Land for a site was also donated by citizens. The first term opened in March, 1853, with a faculty of five, and the first class, numbering three, was graduated in 1854.

The advancement in education included the University. Judge Woodward's original plan for the University of Michigan had not contemplated a modern university, for, in reality, the jurist had envisioned a complete educational system including subordinate colleges, academies, elementary schools, libraries, museums, laboratories, and various literary and scientific establishments. The project, of course, was never realized and the "university" did not advance far beyond the level of a present-day secondary school.

The Constitution of 1835 provided that the funds received from the public lands "granted by the United States for the support of a university shall be and remain a permanent fund for the support of said university with such branches as the public may hereafter demand for the promotion of literature, the arts, and the sciences." This clause and a guarantee of income enabled Pierce and other friends of higher education to secure legislation leading to the location of a university at Ann Arbor, with branches at the leading towns in the state. The University at Ann Arbor opened its doors to students in September, 1841. A very capable faculty was secured and although the enrollment was not large, encouragement for the new school was shown by all of the early governors of the state. This good will came to be shared by the public, and the Constitution of 1850 directed that the university be governed by a Board of Regents elected by the voters. The new agency of control strengthened the administrative policies of the institution and assured an increased emphasis upon state support. Dr. Henry Tappan, who became the President of the University in 1852 upon the recommendation of the historian, George Bancroft, harmonized conflicting educational and administrative differences, and successfully induced the Board to allow a broadening of the scope of the liberal arts curriculum. Professional instruction in medicine and law also began in his administration.

The humanitarian emphasis of the era resulted in an acceptance of the State's responsibility for certain groups of unfortunates. Unusual concern was shown in the establishment and administration of the asylum for the insane, which was located at Kalamazoo. Adequate assistance was also assured for an institution for the deaf, dumb, and blind at Flint.

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CHAPTER 17

The Republican Party Is Born

1854-1860

EASILY FOREMOST among the many controversial questions considered during the late forties and fifties was the slavery issue. It was a natural reaction that a state carved out of the Northwest Territory (with its Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery) should be unkindly disposed toward the institution.

The majority of Michigan pioneers, because of their background and environment, were opponents of slavery. They came largely from the free states of New York and New England. They were young, not wealthy, and were usually democratic both in spirit and belief. Reforms of all types had an appeal for them. Their churches were among the first to attack the system of bondage in which the Negroes were held. Economic circumstances also fostered hostility to the "peculiar institution," since Michigan, to a greater extent than the majority of northern states, lacked important commercial links with the South.

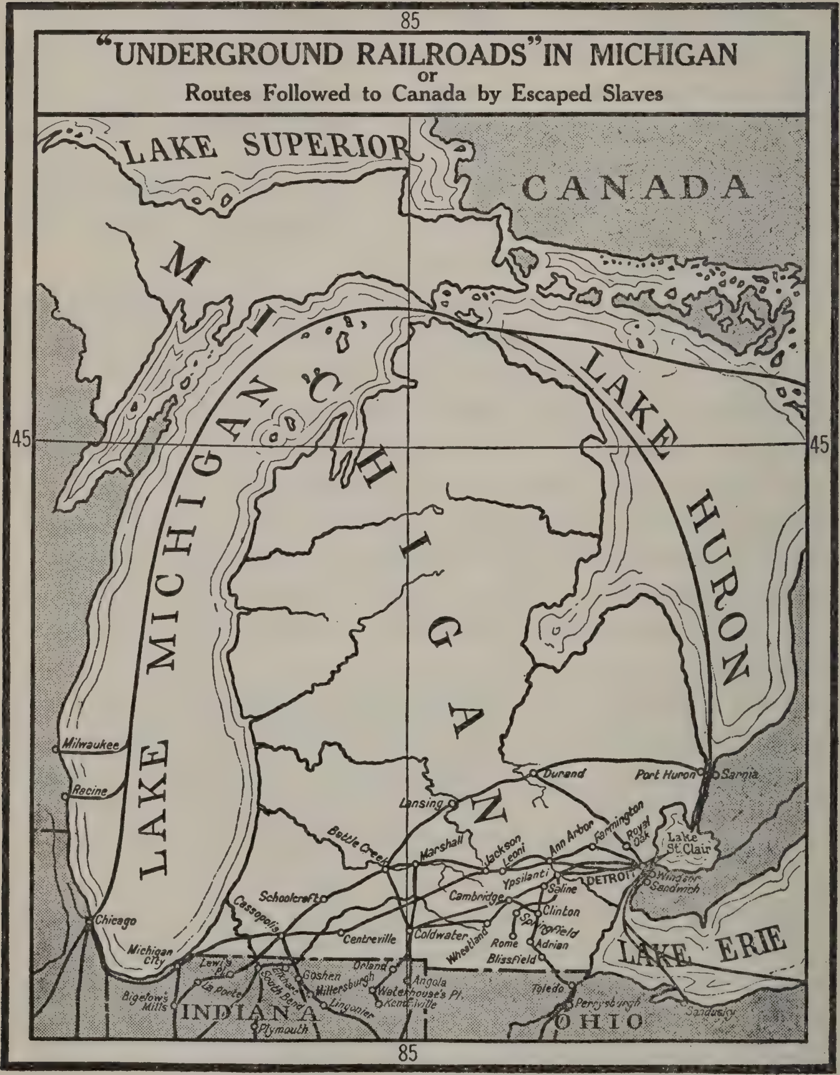
The enemies of slavery were never in complete agreement and ranged from those who regarded the institution as unethical to those who wanted its complete destruction. The most effective opposition to slavery, however, was directed, after the movement was well established, by the abolitionist societies. These militant organizations fostered antislavery sentiment, which increased with great rapidity during periods of political crises resulting from the slavery issue. As early as 1834 a Lenawee County group had labored for the immediate abolition of slavery and an accompanying equality of political rights irrespective of color. Two years later the Michigan Antislavery Society was formed at Ann Arbor at a convention of delegates from seven counties. This step marked the state-wide beginning of the movement, which constantly demonstrated new strength.

Both the press and the pulpit aided the movement. The official organ of the Abolitionists was *Liberty,* published by Erastus Hussey, but of equal importance was the sympathetic attitude of the many editors of influential weekly papers. The small Quaker sect was consistently antislavery. Clergymen of many Protestant denominations were among the first to join antislavery organizations. Frequently the Abolitionists held their sessions as adjuncts of church meetings.

The Presbyterians, at their State Synod of Michigan in 1836, adopted a resolution advocating immediate emancipation of the slaves. A failure on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church to take an early stand against slavery led a considerable number of people to withdraw and form the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Michigan. In 1843 this body claimed over one thousand members and forty ministers. After 1850 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan was one of many denominations condemning slavery. By the outbreak of the Civil War only a few sects had refrained from an official indictment of the institution.

The antislavery zealots made many enemies, and, even in the rural areas, considerable opposition to the Abolitionists was expressed. They were often termed nuisances or dangerous. As late as 1860 antislavery meetings endured the abuses of hostile groups that sometimes threatened violence to the speakers.

Throughout the greater portion of the antislavery crusade, Michigan was reminded of the existence of the institution by a series of dramatic incidents unfolded within the boundaries of the state, associated with the "Underground Railroad." This was the popular expression employed to describe the operations of a secret system of aiding runaway slaves to reach free territory. The utmost care and secrecy were maintained by the northern agents to minimize the risks incurred. Regular routes with "stations" managed by Abolitionists were followed. Two of the several main lines in the North crossed Michigan. One, known as the Central Line, passed from Cass County through



"UNDERGROUND RAILROADS" IN MICHIGAN
or
Routes Followed to Canada by Escaped Slaves

From Michigan History Wall Maps,
A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago.

such thriving communities as Schoolcraft, Battle Creek, Marshall, Albion, Jackson, Grass Lake, Dexter, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, and Plymouth. From Plymouth the route followed the River Rouge to Detroit and across the Detroit River to Canada. The other main line in Michigan ran through Adrian, Tecumseh, Saline, and Ypsilanti, to Detroit and thence to Canada.

Two of the most daring operators of the Central Line were Erastus Hussey, the Battle Creek abolitionist editor, and Zachariah Shugart of Cass County, both Quakers. Hussey spent his time and money freely in helping the Negroes to escape from slavery. From 1840 to the time of the Emancipation Proclamation he is said to have secreted and fed over 1,200 fugitive slaves and sent them on toward Canada. Stations were established every fifteen or sixteen miles, where the fugitives could be fed and hidden. They were usually concealed in woods, barns, and cellars during the daytime and transported to the next station in the night. Although the usual number of Negroes cared for, at any one interval, was only four or five, as many as forty-five, on occasions, were assisted by the fervent operators.

Some of the Negroes remained in Michigan, where, however, they were not entirely secure from recapture by their former masters. The precarious lot of many of the escaped slaves is well illustrated by the Crosswhite incident. Adam Crosswhite, the son of a white planter and a slave mother, had escaped with his wife and children from Bourbon County, Kentucky when he learned that his children were about to be sold. The family settled in Marshall where there was a small Negro community.

To stop the further loss of their slaves and to recover those who had escaped, the slave owners of Bourbon County formed an association for mutual help and sent a young man named Troutman to Michigan as a spy. He came to Kalamazoo, where he professed to be a Massachusetts Abolitionist. He became acquainted with the leading personalities of the movement and secured information about the operations of the underground railway and the location of the escaped slaves.

Early one morning in 1847, Troutman, with several assistants, knocked on the door of Crosswhite's house and undertook to take the family before a magistrate and return it to Kentucky under the Federal Fugitive Slave Law. Crosswhite fired a gun into the air, a signal agreed upon beforehand, and the Negro auction-bell-ringer galloped about town on his horse shouting the alarm. A large crowd gathered, determined that the family should not be returned to Kentucky. Although no personal violence was inflicted, the crowd jeered the Kentuckians.

During the discussion a Negro undertook to enter the house and Troutman drew a pistol to prevent entrance. A complaint was sworn out against the Southerners for breaking down the door of the house and for drawing a deadly weapon, and they were arrested and taken before a Justice Court where they were convicted and fined, and Troutman was held for trial in a higher court. Meanwhile, the Crosswhites were hidden and ultimately transported by the Underground to Canada for safety.

When the Kentuckians returned home, mass meetings were held to denounce the actions of the Michigan men and a sum of money was raised to prosecute the antislavery leaders under the Federal law. Suit was brought in the United States Court in Detroit. The trial which was begun in the latter part of 1847 lasted three weeks. The jury disagreed, but a second trial was held in 1848 in which the verdict was against the defendants and they were fined $1,900 and costs. Antislavery people in crusading fashion raised the money to pay the fines.

Henry Clay was a neighbor of the former owner of Crosswhite in Kentucky and it is believed that this case helped to influence him to advocate a more stringent Federal fugitive slave law in the Compromise Measures of 1850. In this manner the Marshall incident, concerned with a poor Negro family, became one of national importance. The growing antislavery feeling also asserted itself politically until finally it became the major theme at conventions.

As early as 1840, at a convention held in Albany, Abolitionists from several of the free states organized the Liberty party and nominated James G. Birney for President. Some of the antislavery leaders in Michigan accordingly issued a call for a State-wide meeting for the purpose of nominating presidential electors and candidates for Congress to campaign on the Birney platform. The party received only 294 votes in this contest. A general State party ticket was entered in the elections of the following year and a substantial increase was recorded. In 1843, Birney, who had only recently become a Michigan resident, polled 2,776 votes as the Liberty nominee for governor. These results indicated the willingness of a number of Michigan voters to affiliate politically with a militant antislavery group.

The presidential campaign of 1844 suggested the future importance of slavery as an issue. Undoubtedly the vast majority favored the occupation of Oregon, to which the Democrats were pledged. The question of the annexation of Texas, however, brought the slavery issue into the politics of the State more seriously than previously. A large number both of Democrats and Whigs were unwilling to subscribe to proposals for the annexation of Texas. Party lines were maintained for the time being, however, largely because of effective organization, partisan loyalties, and official attempts to subordinate the issue. The State vote was 27,703 for Polk, the Democratic candidate; 24,237 for Clay, the Whig candidate; and 3,632 for Birney, the Liberty party candidate. The Democrats elected all the members of the State Senate and a large majority of the House.

The War with Mexico (1846-48) further called attention to the slavery question. Despite some Whig criticisms of the President's policies Michigan's patriotism rose to a high point and the regiments that saw service won popular recognition. During the course of the war the Abolitionists endorsed the sentiments of the Wilmot Proviso which would have prohibited slavery in any territory acquired as a result of the struggle with Mexico. In a sense the Proviso served as a formula, and antislavery forces demanded the election of congressmen who would vote for it.

Many moderate antislavery people, however, endorsed a view, which came ultimately to be known as popular sovereignty, which maintained that the people of each territory should decide for themselves whether or not the institution of slavery should be allowed to exist. The proponents of this view insisted that it was democratic and provided adequately for local self-government.

In the presidential election of 1848, the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, who subscribed to the popular sovereignty doctrine. The Whigs chose General Zachary Taylor, while the more extreme antislavery group nominated ex-President Van Buren and called their party the Free Soil. It declared that Congress had "no more power to make a slave than to make a king." Its banner read "Free Soil, free speech, free labor, and free men"; and the platform declared that "under it we will fight on and fight ever." Although Cass won his home state by a good plurality, he failed to carry the nation. Van Buren's vote in Michigan was undoubtedly reduced by the Cass candidacy, but was, nevertheless, impressive for a third party.

In January, 1849, the legislature proceeded to re-elect Cass to his old place in the United States Senate, from which he had resigned to campaign for President, but the margin of victory was narrow.[1] The same session passed a joint resolution repudiating popular sovereignty and asserting that Congress had the power and that it was its duty to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the new territories.

The nation-wide agitation about slavery resulted in the legislation known as the Compromise of 1850. The major concession to the South was a new Fugitive Slave Law which, if rigidly enforced, would prevent the successful operation of the Underground Railroad and make possible the return to the South even of free Negroes.

Despite the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 the Underground Railroad continued its operations in Michigan. Laws were passed by the Legislature in 1855 for the purpose of protecting the rights and liberties of the inhabitants of the State, both white and Negro. These came to be known as the Personal Liberty Laws. Their chief provisions required the prosecuting attorney in each county to protect and defend all persons claimed as fugitive slaves. Southern leaders insisted that the acts represented an attempt to nullify national legislation.

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[1] Cass was first elected to the Senate in 1845.

The conservative Whigs of Michigan, because of the danger of secession of the southern states, supported the Compromise, as a whole, and appealed for moderation and concession, although in general they denounced the new Fugitive Slave Law. Because of conservative influence the Whig state convention minimized slavery as an issue and passed a resolution rejoicing at the preservation of the Union because of the Compromise. The antislavery Whigs, however, attempted to make light of the secession threat of the South. The Free Soilers were bitter opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law and were very critical of the other portions of the Compromise. An ever increasing number of Democrats came to share this view.

The repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law became an issue in the 1850 election. Antislavery Whigs and antislavery Democrats united with the Free Soil group in some congressional and legislative districts and elected two members to Congress, and by this same fusion arrangement elected many members to the legislature. This policy of fusion by radical Whigs, Free Soilers, and Free Democrats tended to persist with a degree of success in 1852.

By 1854, antislavery people, irrespective of previous party affiliations, were unwilling to allow further compromise on the question. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise and opened a large area of western country to slavery, was undoubtedly the important measure which brought matters to a head, but there was also a desire by many to obliterate some of the 1850 Compromise features and to prevent any extension of slavery into new territory. The problem was one of unifying all of these elements with varied political backgrounds into a harmonious grouping. Antislavery Whigs (the majority element in the party) were unwilling to identify themselves too closely with any faction bearing the name of Democrats. Various political leaders, the majority of whom were editors, held conferences early in the year for the purpose of bringing about a fusion of antislavery factions. The most notable of these meetings was held in Detroit on February 18, 1854. Prominent among its participants were Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard, who were later elected to the United States Senate, and Joseph Warren of the Detroit *Tribune*. Rigid antislavery resolutions were adopted. At a convention of Free Democrats, held at Jackson later in the month, leaders expressed a desire for fusion with the other antislavery parties. A large number of voters, including some of the leaders, were turning to this new political vehicle because of expediency or as a means of expressing disapproval of policies other than those relating to slavery. A meeting held at Kalamazoo in June completed plans for a mass convention to be held at Jackson on July 6. All antislavery people, irrespective of former political affiliations, were invited to attend. Ten thousand signatures were received in response to this call, which made it clear that a united front against the extension of slavery was being organized.

Pleasant summer weather greeted some 1,500 persons gathered at Jackson on July 6, 1854. There was no hall large enough to accommodate this assemblage and the convention was adjourned to an oak grove outside the village. A conservative Whig was chosen to preside. Two committees, one on nominations and another on resolutions, were appointed and while their reports were being prepared the crowd was addressed by Kinsley S. Bingham and Zachariah Chandler. The latter said that "misfortunes make strange bed-fellows. I see before me Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers, all mingling together to rebuke a great national wrong. I was born a Whig; I have always lived a Whig; and I hope to die fighting for some of the good Whig doctrines. But I do not stand here as a Whig. I have laid aside party to rebuke treachery." Lewis Clark, a fugitive slave (the original of George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) received a warm welcome for his sincere statements. There was great applause when Kinsley S. Bingham's name was mentioned. As a pioneer farmer he represented the class of people among whom the new party was to take strongest root, and he was recognized as the best available man to head the ticket.

The Chairman of the committee on resolutions was Jacob M. Howard, a prominent Detroit lawyer who had served in Congress. He had already prepared a set of resolutions and with some slight modifications they were reported by the committee and adopted by the assembly. Austin Blair, a Jackson attorney, who was later to become a war governor of the state, and Erastus Hussey, the great worker on the Underground Railroad, were two other members of the committee. Historically, the most important of the thirteen resolutions was the one which said that "we will coöperate and be known as Republicans until the contest is ended." Most of the remaining resolutions were directed against the institution of slavery and methods of restricting its encroachments. No specific abolition of slavery, however, was demanded. A demand for a more economical administration and a request for a general railroad law were the only two resolutions relating to State affairs.

The committee on nominations comprised men from all the old parties represented at the Convention. The slate was headed by Bingham, who had been a Democrat and afterwards a Free Soiler. George Coe, a former Whig, was selected for Lieutenant Governor, and the other nominations were distributed among the older parties.[2] Although Chandler received no nomination, it was assumed that he hoped to be nominated for the United States Senate.[3]

There has been considerable argument surrounding the naming of the new party. A resident of Ripon, Wisconsin insisted that he wrote to Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* in June before the Jackson Convention and suggested the name "Republican." There is little doubt that Greeley mentioned the term to Warren of the Detroit *Tribune* in correspondence carried on between them in regard to a new party. Organizations in other states adopted the same name.

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[2] Secretary of State, John McKinney (Democrat), of Van Buren; State Treasurer, Silas M. Holmes (Free Soil), of Wayne; Attorney General, Jacob M. Howard (Whig), of Wayne; Auditor General, Whitney Jones (Whig), of Ingham; Commissioner of State Land Office, Seymour B. Treadwell (Free Soil), of Jackson; Members of the State Board of Education, John R. Kellogg (Whig), of Allegan and Hiram L. Miller (Whig), of Saginaw.

[3] Chandler was elected in 1857.

Local groups were formed rapidly and an enthusiastic campaign resulted. The new party won a complete victory in the election of 1854. Not only were all of its nominees for state offices successful, but three out of the four congressional seats were captured by the Republicans, who also gained control of both houses in the Legislature.

The Republicans again displayed great strength in the state election of 1855. The presidential contest of the following year, however, was regarded by political experts as the real test of the new party. Throughout the campaign the Democrats of Michigan continued to support the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Although they deplored slavery as an institution, they continued to insist that the people of a territory had a right to decide for themselves whether their future state should be slave or free. The new Republican party of the state, aggressive and radical, resisted any further extension of slavery. Its principles were overwhelmingly endorsed at the polls and the returns clearly indicated that the party had acquired a devoted following.[4] A considerable number of Whigs (who were without a nominee for President) supported the Democratic candidate, Buchanan, but on the other hand, some of the Democrats endorsed Frémont and the rest of the Republican ticket. Very little interest was shown in the recently organized Know-Nothing, or American, party, which was anti-Catholic, anti-alien, and indifferent toward slavery. The Republican victories were more decisive than in preceding contests.

Jealousy among the leaders of the various groups comprising the party, disappointment of office-seekers, dissatisfaction with increased state expenditures, and discontent resulting from the Panic of 1857 (which was especially severe in some rural sections) reduced the Republican majorities in 1858.

Uncertainty about results appeared in the presidential campaign of 1860. In the contest the remnants of the Know-Nothing party appeared as the Constitutional Union party, whose candidate for President was John Bell. The issues in national politics caused a division within the Democratic party of the state. The great majority of Michigan Democrats remained Douglas followers and emphasized popular sovereignty, but a small number endorsed Buchanan principles and campaigned for Breckinridge for President. Douglas clubs were organized throughout the State, and the nominee spoke before large audiences in Michigan.

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[4] The Democratic criticisms of the Republican state administration attracted little attention.

The candidacy of Lincoln, who had been popular in Michigan even prior to his nomination, also aroused much enthusiasm among his followers. Senator Chandler, without success, urged Lincoln to come to Detroit as his guest, to make at least one speech. Lincoln Wide Awake groups were organized in many places and their glee clubs sang at many of the political meetings. In parades the Wide Awakes wore uniform caps and oilcloth capes of brilliant color and each individual carried a kerosene torch. In country towns farmer boys rode in on horseback and joined the processions as mounted Wide Awakes. The largest assemblage of the campaign was held in Detroit on the occasion of Senator Seward's visit. The future Secretary of State was greeted with a parade a mile and a half long, made up of twenty companies of Wide Awakes (each with a band), the Rail Splitters (another colorful organization), and companies of militia. On election day Lincoln received, in Michigan, a popular vote of 87,457; Douglas, 66,163; Breckinridge, 805; and Bell, 373. For governor, Austin Blair, the Republican nominee, received 87,806 and his Democratic rival polled only 67,221. Corresponding Republican victories were registered for other offices.

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CHAPTER 18

The Civil War

Michigan's political leaders, throughout the critical period of the Civil War, advocated the preservation of the Union and close coöperation with the Lincoln administration. In every respect the State's course of action was that which might be expected of its pronounced antislavery sentiments. Its contributions in man power and its emphasis on what is now termed "war effort" were impressive.

This policy was most effectively enunciated by Zachariah Chandler who, since his election to the United States Senate in 1857, had become the State's leading political personality. Chandler was a wealthy Detroit merchant who had become active in Whig politics and had been elected mayor of Detroit. For many years he dominated the Republican party, which he had been influential in organizing. To a great extent his support came from the younger men in Central and Western Michigan, many of whom were inexperienced in politics and eager to accept the leadership of Chandler. Chandler's abolitionist tendencies aided him in acquiring recognition throughout the country and he was able to exercise great influence in national politics throughout the entire period of the Civil War and subsequent years. He was a leader of the radical group that desired to punish the South during the Reconstruction era. His declaration, in the midst of the secession controversy, that "without a little blood-letting the Union will not in my estimation be worth a rush" caused considerable excitement throughout the North.

Very significant also was the vigorous support of the Union cause by Austin Blair, who became Governor in January, 1861, and who remained the chief executive for four years. For years prior to the outbreak of the war, Blair, like Chandler, had been affiliated with antislavery movements. During the secession crisis, he asserted that "the Federal government has the power to defend itself and I do not doubt that power will be exercised to the utmost. It is a question of war that the seceding States have to look in the face." He recommended that the whole military power of the State be offered to the Federal government, and his coöperation with Lincoln's policies throughout the struggle was equaled by few of the war governors in the North.

The State Legislature, in January, 1861, refused to repeal the Personal Liberty Bills which had been passed to protect the Negroes in the free enjoyment of all of their rights, and advocated a firm stand in dealing with the newly organized Confederacy. It also passed a Joint Resolution on the state of the Union which declared the supremacy of the government of the United States, and recognized its "full inherent powers of self-protection and defense." The resources of the State were pledged to the government, and concession and compromise were declared impossible under all circumstances.

The organized military force was none too formidable at the time, since it consisted of only twenty-eight independent companies with an aggregate strength of 1,241 officers and men, uniformed at their own expense, armed, but poorly equipped, and with no regimental organization. The State spent annually only $3,000 for the support of the military establishment. This neglect can be attributed both to an economy program and a prevailing indifference concerning the possibility of any war.

The firing on Fort Sumter brought all discussion concerning compromise to an end, and a war spirit prevailed. In Detroit recruiting was commenced at the armories of the Light Guard and the Scott Guards and $50,000 were raised in the city by subscription to be given to the Governor for equipment of troops. At Ann Arbor a company was formed by the students of the University and of the Normal School at Ypsilanti. Community vied with community for the honor of total enlistments. The railroad and steamboat companies offered free transportation for troops.

Governor Blair issued a formal call for ten companies of the uniformed volunteer militia which were already organized. The men were sent to Fort Wayne in Detroit where the First Michigan Infantry Regiment under the command of Orlando B. Willcox, a Detroit lawyer and West Point graduate, was organized.[1] This unit, well armed and equipped, was the first western regiment to arrive in Washington. It afterwards was marched to the White House where President Lincoln complimented the troops on their promptness and soldierly appearance. It was soon sent across the Potomac to Alexandria, and was in the van of Union troops to enter the South. Colonel Willcox was wounded and captured at the first battle of Bull Run and was confined in Libby Prison.

Alpheus S. Williams, a Detroit lawyer, was another officer who won unusual distinction in the war. He had previously served as a Captain in the Brady Guards of Detroit, and as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Mexican War. Governor Blair placed him in command of the camp of instruction at Fort Wayne with the rank of Brigadier General. In 1861 he was given command of the Third Brigade, Banks' Division, Army of the Potomac. He commanded the Twelfth Army Corps at the battle of Antietam, fought at Chancellorsville, and at Gettysburg his corps held Culp's Hill. In 1864 he was assigned to the command of the First Division of the Twentieth Army Corps, fighting through all the long series of battles leading to Atlanta.

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[1] This regiment (since it had been called out only for a service of three months) was mustered out in August, 1861 and should not be confused with the First Regiment commanded by Colonel John C. Robinson.

Thence he marched with Sherman to the sea and northward to Columbia, and was present at the surrender of General Johnston, two weeks after Appomattox.

Each of the Michigan regiments has recorded its history, and any account of their combined military activities would make a lengthy story. Not all those deserving of honor are too well known. The records of the Eighth Infantry Regiment include the account of twelve-year-old Charles Howard Gardner of Flint, who entered the service in order that he might not be separated from his teacher who was one of the officers. George A. Custer, a spectacular cavalry officer from Monroe became famous for his daring actions in the field and rose, although only in his early twenties, to the rank of Major General. He caught the public eye of the entire North and enjoyed a fame and popularity that continued after the war. He lost his life in 1876 when a portion of his command was surrounded and destroyed by hostile Sioux Indians in the action of Little Big Horn.

The Fourth Michigan Cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Pritchard, had the distinction of capturing Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, when he was escaping from Richmond at the close of the war. A company of civilized Indians from the State was attached to Colonel De Land's First Michigan Sharp Shooters and won fame at the battle of Spottsylvania. They were commanded by Lieutenant Gravereate of Little Traverse, an educated half-breed, who was wounded in the battle and died a few months later.

Within seven months from the first call, 16,475 men were sent into the service in Michigan regiments, in addition to thirteen companies which were attached to regiments from other states. By July, 1862, some 27,000 men, 6,000 more than the State's quota, had enlisted. Throughout the course of the war, Michigan furnished a total of over 90,000 men to the armed services. Of this number, about 14,000 died while in the service. The casualties suffered by some of Michigan's regiments were among the highest in the North.

This military contribution is evidence of the alertness of the

State administrative departments. The majority of the soldiers were volunteers attached to State outfits. Conscription, which became operative in 1862, was also largely under State direction. "Bounty jumping," the practice of which came late in the struggle, was a major detraction from the war efficiency. Some towns and counties offered a bonus to men enlisting in their units and prospective soldiers often enrolled in other than their home localities to secure this grant. Those who deserted to re-enlist in another outfit were termed "bounty jumpers," but they were few in numbers. The total cost of the bounties to the State government, alone, was approximately two million dollars.

Dependents of the men in service were given supplementary allotments in accordance with the terms of a measure enacted early in the war. Despite a degree of negligence shown by a few counties, the total expenditures were approximately three and a half million dollars. This amount was astronomical to a generation previously accustomed only to meager government appropriations.

Home front activities were important throughout the entire Civil War. Michigan, like her sister states in the North, supplemented her contributions in men and formal financial assistance with relief work such as the Red Cross and similar organizations performed in World War I and World War II. The Michigan Soldiers' Relief Organization, apparently the first of its kind, was organized to supplement the assistance given to the sick and wounded by the formal military medical units and in various ways it contributed to the well-being of Michigan soldiers in the war.

In all of the larger towns, Ladies' Aid Societies were organized to supply the necessary materials for the men at the front. The ladies sponsored monthly meetings and group sewing in addition to the individual home assignments. The Michigan Soldiers' Relief Committee, whose organization was suggested at an informal meeting attended by many prominent Detroiters in April, 1862, was primarily a fund-raising body which forwarded most of its income to the Soldiers' Relief Association.

Religious activities were not neglected. The various organizations sponsored a drive for Bibles and religious books. The Michigan Christian Commission (interdenominational) was affiliated with the Christian Commission which ministered to the spiritual needs of the soldiers of the Union forces and which, before the close of the war, enlarged its scope to serve as an auxiliary in sanitary operations.

Regiments leaving for action received their share of attention. Refreshments were often served to troops at the railroad stations. "Potato and onion days" for collecting fresh vegetables to be sent to the camps and hospitals were the occasions of community effort in which school children played a prominent part. The families of soldiers were aided by private citizens when county allotments were inadequate. Women and children carried on much of the work, on farms and in business, that had been formerly done by the men.

The home front efforts were not without benefits for future generations. A military hospital for Detroit was authorized in 1863 and was constructed during the next year. When the emergency passed, its facilities were made available to the civilian population of Detroit as Harper Hospital.

On one occasion hostilities were brought near to Michigan, and residents along the Detroit River received a real fright. Throughout the war southern refugees and paid agents of the Confederacy had gathered on the Canadian side of the Detroit River and won over many Canadians to their cause. In September, 1864 a picked body of men boarded the American steamboat, *Philo Parsons,* at Windsor. When the vessel was well out on Lake Erie, the crew was seized and the *Philo Parsons* was taken over. Another small boat, the *Island Queen,* was also seized by the Confederates. A second force was expected to capture the armed steamer, *Michigan,* at Sandusky. It was assumed that the two groups of conspirators would be able to free the 3,000 Confederate prisoners confined at Johnson's Island near Sandusky, Ohio and use them as the nucleus for an armed raiding force on American cities along the lakes and thus seriously cripple the Union war program. Meanwhile the American authorities at Johnson's Island had been warned of the raid and had taken the proper precautions. The conspiracy failed, and the *Philo Parsons* was brought back and abandoned at Sandusky.

The character of the problems resulting from the war intensified political differences throughout the entire period. Although the Democrats were highly critical of the program of the Republican opposition, very few of them expressed sympathy for secession and the cause of the Confederacy. Undoubtedly, a large majority of the Democrats held opinions similar to those of Lewis Cass, who resigned as Secretary of State in Buchanan's cabinet in protest over the President's lenient policy toward the South. He presided at a war rally held in Detroit on April 24, 1861 and delivered an eloquent address in behalf of the Union. Cheers followed his statements as he thanked God that the American flag still floated over his home and his friends. He declared that "there is but one path for every man to travel, and that is broad and plain . . . he who is not for his country is against it. There is no neutral position to be occupied." The last public speech made by the elder statesman was delivered at Hillsdale in August, 1862 at a meeting to secure enlistments for the Army. His final years were spent at his home in Detroit. He lived, however, to see the Union reunited and the institution of slavery destroyed. He died on June 17, 1866, at the age of 84.

Voters had their first real opportunity to express their opposition to the Republican cause in the state election of 1862. Some Democrats joined with conservative Republicans in an attack directed against both Blair and Chandler. This coalition called itself the Union party. Chandler, whose political future was at stake, led his party to victory (but with reduced margins compared with 1860) and was re-elected to the Senate in 1863.

In the election of 1864, the Democratic party was more definitely anti-administration than it had been previously and it raised national issues along with state problems. It emphasized the restoration of constitutional liberties and charged that the Republicans were attempting to abolish States' rights through a program of autocratic centralization. Some Democrats were so violent in their remarks that they were accused by the Republicans of sympathy for the Confederacy. Lincoln was bitterly denounced by the Democratic press of the State, of which the Detroit *Free Press* was the leading spokesman. Its readers were warned to "keep it before the people that Lincoln has expended in three and one-half years over five hundred millions of dollars, more than were the whole expenses of the government during the seventy-two years preceding his advent to power, that he has pulled out over two millions of men, and that in return he gives us a disrupted union, and a government in ruins, when he promised peace and union in less than sixty days with 75,000 men. Is such a man fit to rule over an intelligent and patriotic people?" [2]

The Republicans were victorious by a wide margin despite fears of defeat that had been privately expressed by some of the leaders. Soldiers, who were allowed to vote in this election by special state legislation, endorsed the Republican ticket by a margin of three to one.

Although hostilities ceased in April, 1865, it was not until July 4, 1866 that the last of the Michigan soldiers were mustered out of service. The day called for great rejoicing and the review of significant victories in which Michigan troops had participated.

A national organization of veterans, called the Grand Army of the Republic, was formed after the war; and every city, and many villages, of Michigan had posts bearing the name of the local organizations. On Memorial Day the veterans marched with bands to cemeteries to decorate the graves of their deceased comrades with flags and flowers.

The war generation was probably unaware of many of the significant changes that resulted from the struggle. It could not evaluate successfully the decline of certain social and moral standards. Nor could it foresee the great economic changes, some of which were already under way, that were stimulated and hastened by the necessities of four years of war.

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[2] Detroit *Free Press*, September 19, 1864.

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CHAPTER 19

Lumbering

THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL activity of the post-Civil War era was reflected in the growth of the lumbering trade which, within a century, produced a yield estimated as high as three billion dollars. Some statisticians have estimated that 160 billion feet of pine lumber alone have been cut from the forests of the State. With the exception of a few prairie areas in the southwestern part of Michigan (approximately five per cent of the total), the entire State was heavily forested. White pine ranked first in importance but Norway pine was also abundant. White oak, ash (both white and black), black walnut, cherry, hemlock, beech, elm, cedar, and maple were also found in large quantities. Although the pines were the most valuable until late in the nineteenth century, ultimately, through the development of new methods of seasoning timber, the other woods came also to have a great commercial value.

However, to the first agrarian settlers interested only in farming, these heavy forests served as an obstacle, since, in preparation for a first crop, it was necessary to clear a certain amount of land. Large numbers of trees accordingly were felled and burned. This process, which the pioneers termed "niggering them off," resulted in the destruction of forests which later would have had a value of many millions of dollars.

Some small-scale lumbering was undoubtedly attempted at a very early time. There are references to sawmills during both the French and British periods. Ordinarily very few men were engaged in the process which was distinctly seasonal. Any unusual industrial demand for lumber, however, resulted in operations on a more elaborate scale. For example, there was considerable commercial production in the Port Huron area to serve a market resulting from the burning of Detroit in 1805. Many towns had small sawmills during the early thirties. It has been estimated that there were as many as four hundred supplying local areas at the beginning of statehood. These mills were usually erected along the numerous rivers at points where water power could be easily utilized.

The great lumbering boom, however, did not materialize until the Maine and other eastern sources of white pine had been considerably depleted. This exhaustion in the East, which afforded a great market for western products, was contemporary with a demand for lumber in the prairie states whose main source of supply was the Chicago market. This market came to be linked with the Michigan mills slowly in the years prior to the Civil War and very rapidly thereafter.

By 1870 Michigan led in the production of board feet, and the value of its timber products was $32,000,000. By 1873 there were as many as 1,600 sawmills in the State, whose annual production amounted to $40,000,000. Next to agriculture, the lumbering industry had become the largest in the State. In 1880, the number of lumbering establishments in Michigan was 1,649; capital invested, $39,260,428; persons employed, 24,235; wages paid, $6,967,805; value of logs and mill supplies, $32,251,372; total value of lumber, $52,449,928; lumber products in feet, approximately 5,500,000,000. In 1890, Michigan led all of the states of the Union in all fields of lumbering activity, and the number of sawmills was over 2,000. A gradual decline began after 1890, and the most extensive operations were confined to the hardwood areas. In 1911, Michigan ranked only tenth among the states in the production of lumber. As late as 1935, approximately 4,000 workers were employed in lumbering activities, and Michigan occupied the nineteenth place among the states in the value of its forest products.

For many years the Saginaw Valley with its extensive stand of excellent pine held preëminence in the lumber business. Into the Saginaw River flowed the Tittabawassee, Shiawassee, Cass, Flint, Pine, and Chippewa rivers with their smaller affluent streams, all available for floating logs from a large section of the southern peninsula to the mills of Saginaw and Bay City. The first important cargo of clear lumber shipped from Saginaw to the East went out in 1847 to Albany by way of the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal. It was the first lot of clear cork pine to reach a new important market. Its peculiar value attracted attention and an immediate demand was created for Saginaw pine lumber. By 1854, there were twenty-nine Saginaw mills with nine under construction on the Saginaw River. Their combined annual cutting capacity was 100,000,000 feet. The height of the production in value was reached by 1882. Areas immediately north of the Saginaw district also became centers of lumbering development. A regular lumbering business began at Alpena in 1858. In 1874 this business turned out 85,000,000 feet of lumber in addition to shingles in large quantities. Logs were often rafted down Lake Huron to Detroit where mills operating upright, gang, and circular saws cut as high as 15,000,000 feet. By 1890 mills were to be found along all the streams draining into Lake Huron.

On the west side of the peninsula the principal lumbering centers were Grand Rapids, Grand Haven, Ludington, Manistee, Muskegon, and Traverse City. Activity along the Grand River began as early as 1837. At many towns along the streams in the interior of the State, lumbering operations were on a smaller scale than in the shore towns. In the Upper Peninsula the greatest lumbering center was Menominee, whose first sawmill was erected in 1832. In 1893, 561,000,000 feet of logs floated down the river to Menominee. Most of the cut was shipped to Chicago. Lumbering in Menominee reached its height in 1889 when the city boasted that it was the largest lumber port in the world. Escanaba was the home of a mill as early as 1841, and operations were commenced at Ontonagon in 1852.

The lumbering industry called for a variety of specialized operations. Very essential to the owner of the logging process was the group of employees that selected the most valuable and accessible tracts of pine. Until late in the nineteenth century only a portion of the forests was assigned for cutting and the resultant waste was enormous. Sawyers cut the trees with unusual skill and it was the task of the unassigned lumberjack to transport the logs to the river. For a number of years horses pulled the logs to the banks of the high stream. As the source of supply came to be farther removed from the streams, narrow-gauge railroads were often constructed by leading lumbermen. The first logging railroad in the world was completed in Clare County in 1877. Once the logs were brought to the river they were floated to the boom, which was really a storage reservoir, constructed by chaining long logs together. The logs were further held in place by piles driven out from the shore. Each log was marked with the brand of the owner, which was usually stamped in several places with special types of hammers. Whenever certain numbers of logs were desired, they were released from the boom and sent to the mill towns.

The operations described thus far were usually seasonal and most of the labor was performed during the months when snow was on the ground. The important mill towns, however, were stable communities and operations were carried on throughout the year. From any one of these numerous centers the finished products were sent to the leading markets throughout the nation. Until about 1890, most of the cargo was transported by water and frequently the important operators owned their own fleets. The major Lake Michigan markets were Chicago and Milwaukee. From the Lake Huron coast shipments were made to Cleveland and other ports. After 1890 an increasing amount of lumber was transported by rail, especially to the furniture centers of the country.

The employees of the lumbering industry were men of distinctive characteristics. The mill towns employed both skilled and unskilled workers. The primary operations were performed, however, by the so-called lumberjack. "Into the woods flocked adventurers like bees into a hive," writes Professor Bowman. "Many had seen service in the Civil War and were drawn into the camps by their love of hardy, out-of-door roving life with men. Many others were recent immigrants and came eagerly to try the first chance that fortune offered in the new land. Some were natural floaters, dominated by an insatiable wanderlust. Occasionally one proved to be a fugitive from justice and took to the friendly shelter of the forest. Almost every nationality was represented, with the Irish, the Scotch, the English, the German and the Canadian-French leading the lists.

"Taken by and large, these men were as fine a body of physical young giants as ever undertook a conquest of any sort. The wild woods welcomed them and they flung themselves into the arms of fortune with a right good will. Soon they became intoxicated with the free, wild life. And soon their hard, uncertain destiny imbued them with an unconscious fatalism that feared neither man, nature in the raw, nor the devil. They laughed at everything, most of all at the grim face of danger and destruction." [1]

"Many of the men wore wide belts or sashes made of leather or bright colored yarn. If the man was lucky enough to have a pair of mitts they were tucked under the belt behind, for anything in front would be either in the way or lost. They wore from three to six pairs of sox. Nearly all of the men drank, smoked, and cursed, but not all. . . .

"After a hard day's work in the woods or on the river and a big supper, the third huge meal of hearty food for the day, the men would gather in the bunkhouse to indulge in rough horseplay. Sometimes a 'stag' dance was gotten up. An equal number of long and short straws were cut and passed around; the ones that drew the short straws had to be the 'ladies.' As a rule these dances caused a lot of mirth. All wore their spikes. If a 'gent' stepped on his partner's toes more than three times a fight was sure to follow. . . . [Nearly everything about the camp was made of pine and hay wire.] When a lumberjack went broke or anything 'busted' it was said to have gone 'hay-wire.' A large gas pipe was stuck through the front gable. The boss said it was to let the air come in and the bugs go out. When the bugs got too thick, the camp had a general house cleaning, the doors and windows were caulked up and live steam was piped into the building from the switch engine. . . . At many camps it was against the rules to talk at meal time. This was partly to prevent quarreling. Eating was an important and serious business and nothing must be allowed to interfere with it. The men must be kept in good condition and contented and happy. While at camp the men seldom passed their time playing cards or drinking. They liked to sing, tell stories and talk 'religen.' Many lumber-jack ballads came from the camps. They usually dealt with tragedies or love. All new comers had to sing a song or dance a jig or go up in a blanket. 'Religen,' as the boys called it, or rather the differences of creed, was the cause of more fights than all the other differences put together."[2]

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[1] James Bowman, "Life in the Michigan Woods," *Mich. Hist. Magazine*, XXI, 275.

The lumbering industry has been very significant in the economic and social development of the State. A large number of Michigan cities owe their origin to their development as mill towns. The industry also accelerated the growth of transportation facilities, especially by encouraging the construction of railroads which were afforded revenue through the carrying of timber products. The related industries, especially production of furniture, paper, agricultural implements, carriages and wagons, and even some of the chemical fields received a stimulus from lumbering. The wealth produced by timber was widely distributed throughout the various lumbering cities and a portion of the accumulated capital was transferred to other fields of economic effort. The philanthropy of many lumber "barons" promoted the cultural life of a number of towns. The contribution of Charles Hackley to Muskegon has made possible, for example, the fine art museum of that city. Lumbering also brought to Michigan a variety of population elements which learned to coöperate. The average mill city contained a population, at the height of the industry, divided almost equally between native-born Americans and widely diversified immigrant groups.

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[2] A. S. Draper, "Reminiscences of the Lumber Camp," in *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XIV, 438-454.

One of the results of Michigan lumbering has been the body of literature associated with the lumberjack. The ballads of the lumberjack undoubtedly reflect lumbering forest life in a manner that few industries have been able to record. The Paul Bunyan epic, which centers around a mythical hero of the woods, has been the most popular of all the forest tales. This character, who was depicted as a super-lumberjack, was characterized by cleverness, skill, and expediency. The stories that revolve around the feats of Paul resemble other types of frontier acts. Undoubtedly, some were borrowed from the exploits of Davy Crockett. The feats mentioned in the stories always varied with the listeners. The same branch might be fourteen feet or fourteen hundred feet in width. It was not unusual for the stories also to suggest some sly humor at the expense of the tenderfoot of the camp. The greatest thrill to the audience resulted when the exploits of Paul were told to the tenderfoot or to deflate an aggressive individual and put him in his proper place.

The lumber "barons" have been the subject of almost as much discussion as have the lumberjacks. The term is applied to the leading operators who, because of a lack of any conventional restraint, were able to carry on their activities without legal interference. They have been criticized for the waste that resulted from their hasty attempts to denude the forests of the State. It must be borne in mind, however, that these owners in all probability did not realize that the timber reserves would be so rapidly exhausted. Likewise, it was necessary for them to utilize their resources hurriedly since they always faced losses from market fluctuations and the potential danger of forest fires.

The hazard of fire was a constant threat to the lumbering industry, and the losses were so great that one writer, in describing the major forest fires of the nation, has appropriately termed his volume *Burning an Empire.*[3] One of the most disastrous fires occurred in 1871 when lumbering operations were at their height. The summer was unusually hot and dry. All vegetation was parched, the swamps were dried out, wells and cisterns became exhausted, and many of the running streams had ceased to flow. Because of the careless methods of lumbering the branches and tops of the pine trees were left where the trees fell and became dry as tinder. About the numerous sawmills large heaps of sawdust and extensive piles of lumber had become dried out by wind and sun. The majority of buildings in village and city and upon the farms were constructed of wood. Settlers were careless in burning brush and logs in clearing land, although a dry season was a favorable time for such work, especially in swamps and lowlands.

On Sunday, October 8, 1871 fire broke out in Chicago and during that night and for the two following days and nights destroyed a large section of the city which had been built largely out of Michigan pine. The fierce gale that fanned the flames at Chicago swept over southern Michigan, picking up scattered brush- and swamp-fires and uniting them into a mass of flame that could not be stopped. The city of Holland was devastated and Manistee was partially destroyed. From the latter place the fire swept entirely across the State through the counties of Lake, Osceola, Isabella, Midland, Saginaw, Tuscola, Sanilac, and Huron—areas where lumbering was carried on extensively.

The destitution of the 18,000 individuals made homeless was mitigated by the efforts of two state relief societies which received contributions from every state in the Union and from Canada. The United States War Department sent blankets and clothing. The railroad and express companies furnished transportation free for all such supplies. Governor Baldwin, in a message to the Legislature in March, 1872, reported that "nearly 3,000 families, or about 18,000 persons, were rendered houseless and deprived of the necessities of life" by the fire.

Ten years later another disastrous fire swept across the State, burning over much of the same area that was devastated in 1871. Again the summer was hot and unusually dry. Most of the streams were dry and the wells empty, and vegetation in woods and fields was like tinder. On September 4 and 5, a strong wind drove the fires out of control and a great conflagration swept across Huron, Tuscola, Sanilac, and Lapeer counties. Approximately 300 lives were lost and personal property losses of individual families apparently exceeded those of the previous catastrophe.

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[3] Stewart H. Holbrook, *Burning an Empire* (New York, 1943).

Forest fires occurred from time to time on a somewhat smaller scale in later years. One of the worst of these took place in the northeastern part of the Lower Peninsula in 1908 when the villages of Au Sable, Metz, and Posen were destroyed. There were many fatalities, including a large number who were burned to death while attempting to escape from the conflagration.

Forest and brush fires still do considerable damage in dry seasons; but with watchmen in high towers that have been erected about the State at strategic places, and with trained crews equipped with improved fire-fighting apparatus, the losses have been minimized.

Not until Michigan had been almost stripped of its valuable forests was serious attention given to the conservation of natural resources and reforestation. As far back as 1876, Governor Bagley set aside Arbor Day by proclamation but it was difficult to arouse public interest. His successors emphasized the danger to agriculture that would result from the complete denuding of the forests and the needs of the two industries were accordingly linked, but not effectively. A Forestry Commission was established but its function was chiefly educational. The Legislature of 1903, however, gave this Commission authority to establish a State Forestry Reserve in two of the northern counties and it also authorized the appointment of fire wardens. In 1911 an act was passed to encourage farm forestry by exempting from taxation farm forests because their products were used only for agricultural purposes. A number of other agencies were created by 1921 but their powers were imperfectly defined. Governor Groesbeck, in that year, stated that the entire conservation policy should be amplified, extended, and better organized to emphasize reforestation, fire protection, prevention of stream pollution, and fish and wild life propagation. He recommended uniting the various commissions and boards into one conservation department, under the guidance of experts. The Department of Conservation was accordingly created and it assumed powers and duties previously vested in a number of separate agencies. Although it has emphasized the conservation of wild life as much as reforestation, the latter has finally been assured the support of the agency.

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Nearly all of the studies dealing with lumbering in the United States emphasize the importance of Michigan. Stewart H. Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw* (New York, 1938) and C. W. Hotchkiss, *Lumber and Forest History of the Northwest* (Chicago, 1938) are among the best sources in this category. Charles Moore, *History of Michigan,* volume I, chapter XXV; Utley *et al., Michigan as a Province, Territory, and State,* volume IV, chapter IV; and Fuller (editor), *Michigan. A Centennial History,* volume I, chapter XXVII deal more specifically with the industry in Michigan. Paul Addison Leach, "Paul Bunyan's Land and the First Sawmill of Michigan," *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XX, 69-89 contains much of historical value with many statistics. James Bowman, "Life in the Michigan Woods," *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XXI, 276-282 presents an interesting picture of timber cruising, the life of the lumberjack, the river drive, and the annual "spree." A. S. Draper gives a good account of lumbering operations and a picture of lumbering camps based on personal experience in *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XIV, 438-454. A. W. Miles, "The End of the Drive," *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* XX, 221-229 contains reminiscences of an old lumberjack who worked on the Muskegon River. Alvah Sawyer, "The Forests of the Upper Peninsula and Their Place in History," *Mich. Hist. Magazine,* III, 367-383 and L. D. Watkins, "Destruction of the Forests of Southern Michigan," *Mich. Pioneer Colls.,* XXVIII, 148-150 are briefer than the accounts previously mentioned. Earl Beck, *Songs of the Michigan Lumberjacks* (Ann Arbor, 1941) is a very comprehensive treatment of the theme suggested by the title.

CHAPTER 20

The Upper Peninsula and Minerals

THE UPPER PENINSULA of Michigan both contributed to, and shared in, the economic development of the State. Little was known about this area when it was granted to Michigan in 1836 as a substitute for the territory awarded by Congress to Ohio in the boundary dispute between the two states. This general absence of information had been accompanied by an almost equal lack of interest in a region far removed from the zones of agricultural and business activity in southern Michigan. Governor Lewis Cass, Henry R. Schoolcraft, and a few other individuals had displayed a certain curiosity concerning the mineral resources of the northern country, but their information was meager.

As a result, at the beginning of statehood, this region of approximately 16,000 square miles, larger in area than any New England state except Maine, contained only a few scattered settlements with little prospect of an economy to succeed the rapidly disappearing fur trade. However, the labors of two men in particular, Doctor Douglass Houghton and William R. Burt, called especial attention to the potential mineral resources. The former, a young physician whose name had already been identified with numerous cultural and civic activities and who was to become mayor of Detroit in 1842, was persuaded by Governor Mason in 1837 to accept an appointment as State Geologist. Until his tragic death by drowning in Lake Superior in 1845, Houghton devoted a considerable portion of his time to explorations. His reports acquainted his readers with the rich mineral resources of the State and his references to copper deposits led to an immediate interest in their development. Burt's contribution was the discovery, in 1844, of iron deposits in the Marquette area. The presence of the mineral was detected through fluctuations in the magnetic compass, an instrument which Burt had perfected to aid him in his surveying labors.

These discoveries stimulated an inrush of prospectors. Inasmuch as the announcement about copper was first, the initial rush was to the region of Keeweenaw Point, where mining operations began in 1842. In the next year three permits were issued by the Secretary of War to locate copper mines, and a special government agent was appointed with headquarters at Copper Harbor. Activities also reached the Ontonagon region which was approximately one hundred miles from Keeweenaw. By 1846 a large-scale copper fever had developed. Hundreds of men hastened to the northern country in the hope of securing great riches. This movement preceded the gold rush to California, which it closely resembled. An adventurer in the movement thus describes the men on the steamer with him going up to Sault Ste Marie: "Captain E. B. Ward was owner and master.[1] Crowded on board were two hundred very lively adventurers. There were all sorts of people: the shrewd Yankee, the suave Southerner, the gay Canadian Frenchman, the dashing backwoodsman, the taciturn Indian half-breed, and the jolly John Bull who is going to teach us how to mine in that 'blarsted country, don't you know.'

"During the lively summer of 1846 several thousand people must have arrived at Copper Harbor: distinguished strangers from many lands, politicians, scientific men, speculators, surveyors, and engineers, down to the humble *voyageur* and packer. . . . Card playing, the use of the flowing bowl, and some good fighting with fist and pistol were the social amusements of this conglomerate community. . . . It was a common saying that there was no Sunday west of the Sault."[2]

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[1] Captain Eber Brock Ward became one of Detroit's leading pioneer industrialists.

Pioneer iron mining operations were almost contemporary with those in the copper fields. The Jackson Mining Company was the first in the field, with the Marquette Mining Company second. The first forge was built by the Jackson Company near Negaunee in 1847. The Jackson Company is of particular interest since its capital was furnished by, and the management entrusted to, Michigan people. A number of the mining concerns, even at this early date, represented the undertaking of Easterners. The first iron mines, with their limited capital, were not profitable because of high transportation costs, the unusual expenses of operation in the area where necessary commodities were imported at a high cost, and finally, because the industry was not adapted to the principle of smelting in this area.

The transportation problem, not only for the mining regions but for the entire Upper Peninsula, was partially solved with the construction of the Sault Canal which linked Lakes Superior and Michigan. Congress, in 1852, made an appropriation of 750,000 acres of public lands for the Canal. The bill was introduced by Senator Felch and was warmly supported by Senator Cass.

The Canal and locks were completed in twenty-two months at a cost of $875,000. The locks were the largest in the world at that time. They were built on the outskirts of civilization; the blasting powder was brought from the eastern states, and some of the machinery for excavation had to be invented on the spot. Immigrant workmen were imported from New York City. There was no railroad within many miles. Work was continued through the winter when there were only a few hours of daylight out of the twenty-four and the thermometer registered as low as thirty-five degrees below zero at times. The Canal, which became the real gateway to the northern Peninsula, was transferred to the national government in 1881. Railroad construction was almost contemporary.

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[2] John Harris Forster, "Early Settlement of the Copper Region of Lake Michigan," *Mich. Pioneer Colls.*, VII, 185-187.

These improvements in transportation facilities were accompanied by significant changes in mining operations. The most important development in the copper region began with the formation of the Calumet and Hecla Company which owned the most productive and richest mine in America. Its capital of $10,000,000 served as the basis for a financial structure which has paid over $160,000,000 in dividends. The concern represented the amalgamation of various smaller corporations, most of which had been organized with eastern capital prior to the Civil War, and became one of the wealthiest in the country. The Calumet and Hecla Company was the owner of rich copper deposits which were mined by large-scale methods.

In 1889 Michigan was not only the greatest copper producing state in the United States, but it mined more than any foreign country. The Michigan deposits represented practically the only sources of production in the United States until the early eighties, when large amounts of the metal were found elsewhere. The cost of operations in the more recently developed areas proved to be less than that in the deep mines of Michigan, and after 1910 copper production in upper Michigan declined. Unemployment became chronic. Business suffered heavily, and some villages were completely abandoned. The two recent world wars created an increased demand for copper and greatly stimulated production, although it now seems certain that the industry will never approach the tempo of the late years of the nineteenth century.

The most feasible techniques of iron mining were discovered gradually. Companies abandoned the principle of smelting and instead transported the raw ore to the new specialized market in the East that developed rapidly after the Civil War. It was also found that iron mining could be carried on successfully only by the employment of large-scale methods. Consolidations similar to those in the copper area took place. The new companies with the necessary amount of capital available constructed improved transportation facilities and equipped themselves with the latest technological discoveries. By 1900 the Lake Superior region, consisting of northern Michigan and Wisconsin and northeastern Minnesota, furnished 76 per cent of the total iron ore of the United States. Vessels of enormous capacity transferred the ore from docks at Marquette, Duluth, and other Lake Superior ports to the Lake Erie ports, where powerful cranes unloaded them with breath-taking rapidity, and to the mills in the Chicago area. In 1900, the eighty mines in Michigan, operated by forty-one companies, employed approximately 15,000 miners. The iron mines, which for the most part have also pit workings, have remained productive and less subject to seasonal unemployment than have the copper districts. Much of the Upper Peninsula has not participated in the extraction developments since the copper mines were confined largely to the Keeweenaw Peninsula, while iron has been extracted profitably from the Gogebic Range, the Menominee Range, and the initial area development near Marquette.

Agriculture, despite the long winter and short summer, has made considerable strides. It was discovered that most grains (especially corn) , root crops, and hardy fruits could be grown, especially near the shores of the Great Lakes, and that the heavy winter snows preserved crops that could be left in the ground until spring. The good yields obtained, however, in many areas have failed to compensate the farmers for the great expense of transportation; and, consequently, agriculture has been, to a great extent, restricted to a level essential for the maintenance of the food supply.

The early emphasis upon the extraction industries brought to the northern area a semi-mining frontier not found elsewhere in the State. With the stabilization of mining, especially in the copper country, a degree of paternalism appeared in the towns, since the companies felt it necessary to take the initiative in planning communities for their wage-earners. The population was also more cosmopolitan and contained a larger number of nationalities than did other portions of Michigan, except for a few of the larger cities and some of the lumbering areas.

The Upper Peninsula has not been too closely identified, economically, with the older centers of the State. The majority of the mines are owned by corporations whose capital has been furnished primarily by eastern men. The important railroad lines are linked with Milwaukee and Chicago, whose markets are more important to the people of the northern country than are those of Detroit. The Upper Peninsula has shared in the distribution of state institutions, however, having a state teachers' college and a state prison at Marquette, a hospital for the insane at Newberry, and a School of Mines at Houghton.

Although the mining of copper and iron is on a larger scale than that of other extraction industries, a large variety of natural resources has added to the wealth of the State. This native inheritance is well distributed and its utilization has contributed to the economic development of many communities. This has been a fortunate compensation since the rich mineral areas have not been well adapted to agriculture.

Although the importance of the mineral resources was enhanced by the emergence of modern industrial America, even pioneer agrarian settlers received some benefits. Gypsum was discovered in Kent County as early as 1827 and has been mined since 1841. Originally it was used only for improving the soil for crop purposes and production was limited until 1890. Since that date it has been utilized in increasing quantities for plasters, plaster board, rock lath, and other structural materials substituted for wood, for construction of soundproof stages in the motion picture business, and in the manufacture of Portland cement.

At an early time lime burning was commenced by some of the pioneers in Monroe County where there were outcrops of easily accessible limestone. Contemporary operations on a small scale were also carried on in Jackson and Eaton counties. After lake transportation developed and railroads were built, the industry was transferred to the northern parts of the State where large deposits of high grade limestone and an abundance of wood were to be found. The bulk of the lime burned in Michigan in more recent times has been processed at Detroit and Menominee.

The recent commercial value of limestone has resulted in large-scale mining operations of the product, which is found at the surface in Alpena, Presque Isle, Emmet, Sheboygan, Charlevoix, Schoolcraft, and Mackinac counties. Belts of pure dolomite are found in Mackinac, Chippewa, and Schoolcraft counties. Most of this limestone is used in the crushed state. The better grades are in demand for chemical purposes and for blast furnace flux in steel mills. The location of large deposits near the shores of the Great Lakes, whence the high grade stone can be shipped to the steel mills at a low cost of transportation, makes the industry an important one in Michigan. Sandstone of various colors was formerly quarried in considerable quantities at Marquette and in the counties of Houghton, Ionia, Jackson, Calhoun, Huron, Hillsdale, and Ottawa.

The earliest mining of coal in Michigan took place at Jackson and Grand Ledge about 1835. Later mines were opened in Calhoun, Eaton, Shiawassee, Genesee, Ingham, Tuscola, Arenac, Saginaw, and Bay counties. In 1905 there were nearly forty active mines. The peak output, 2,035,853 tons, was reached in 1907. The coal is of low quality, however, and by 1939 only nine mines in a producing area extending from Saginaw and Bay City southwestward through St. Charles, Owosso, Lansing, and Jackson, were operating.

The manufacture of sand-lime brick was begun in the United States in 1905, and Michigan soon became a leading state in the industry. Clay suitable for the manufacture of brick and tile is widely distributed over the State and many small plants have been established in the southern counties, some of them at an early date. In 1899 almost 200 plants were in operation, but the number has since greatly diminished.

Sand and gravel suitable for building purposes and road-making exist in large quantities in many places in the State. In 1929, about 17,000,000 tons were used. Since a large percentage is used for concrete, the sand and gravel industry naturally closely parallels the cement industry. Michigan ranks first among the states in production of foundry sand, most of which is obtained from the sand dunes along Lake Michigan. Michigan is also an important producer of glass sand, the deposits of which are located in Monroe and Wayne counties.

A plant for the production of Portland cement was erected near Kalamazoo as early as 1872, but it was operated only ten years. There was no further development of the industry until a plant was constructed at Union City in 1896 and a second one at Quincy. From then on there was a rapid growth of cement manufacture in the State. By 1900, ten factories were operating with a daily capacity of 8,300 barrels. The demand for cement increased greatly with the development of the good-roads movement in the present century.

The presence of salt springs in Michigan was known during the Territorial period. This information led the Federal government to grant the new state seventy-two sections of salt springs land. It was prophesied that the time was not far distant when Michigan would produce within her own boundaries all the necessities and some of the luxuries of life. Governor Mason urged the Legislature to authorize the State Geologist, Douglass Houghton, to commence boring for salt at some of the State salt springs, and an appropriation of $3,000 was made. Houghton took machinery and equipment through the woods and along the rivers and began drilling operations a few miles below Grand Rapids on the Grand River and on the Tittabawassee near the mouth of Salt River in Midland County.

These pioneer efforts were not regarded as fruitful, and work on wells was suspended in 1840. In 1859, however, a petition was sent to the Legislature by citizens of Saginaw asking for a bounty of ten cents per barrel on all salt produced. The lawmakers considered such an offer harmless since they assumed that little or no salt would be produced. A member, partly in jest, moved a bounty of ten cents per bushel or fifty cents per barrel.

A bill to that effect was passed and signed by the Governor in 1859. Accordingly, the East Saginaw Salt Manufacturing Company was formed and operations commenced in 1860. The production the first year was 10,722 barrels and the second year 32,250 barrels. The bounty measure was repealed, but other companies were soon formed and production was carried on at Saginaw, Bay City, and Carrollton. The salt industry grew to large proportions along the Saginaw River because of a combination of rich deposits of brine and the location of numerous sawmills which furnished large quantities of waste wood trimmings which supplied cheap fuel for evaporating the brine. Exhaust steam from the sawmills was also used in the process. Salt was also produced in Saginaw, Bay, and several other counties.

A deposit of rock salt at a depth of about 1,600 feet exists at Marine City. Rock salt is also found along the Detroit River where it has been mined for many years. Steam shovels dig out 350,000 tons of salt annually, and it is moved out over several miles of electric tramway from the second largest salt mine in the country. An experimental well was bored at Wyandotte in 1891 by J. B. Ford for the purpose of obtaining salt from which to make soda ash for the manufacture of glass. The extensive alkali industry at Wyandotte was started as a result of the discovery of a large deposit of salt. A few years later the Solvay Process Company, a Belgian concern, located in the same region for the production of soda in various forms and other products derived from salt. Extensive plants in this down-river section are now engaged in manufacturing various saline products.

Many chemicals are made from the salt brine in Michigan. Among these are soda carbonate, from which baking powder, baking soda, and washing soda are made; chlorine, which is a component of bleaching powders used in a large variety of manufactures; caustic soda, soda ash, and salt cake, used in the manufacture of paper, soap, glass, and other products. Nitrate of potash and chlorate of potash are also produced and used in many powders and explosives. Extensive works are in operation in Midland and in the Detroit area which manufacture a great variety of products from salt that have a world-wide market.

From saline brine is obtained bromine, extensively used in the arts and in pharmacy as a basis for a large number of bromine salts; chloride of magnesium and chloride of calcium are also extracted. Bromine has been produced at Midland for over forty years. Its demand has increased greatly in recent years as a constituent of ethyl gasoline. From 1926 to 1938 the production increased from 1,245,760 pounds to 32,324,000 pounds; and its value from $426,837 to $6,324,000. A large proportion of the bromine used in the United States is produced in Michigan.

The Dow Chemical Company, which has several establishments in the State, was founded to extract bromine from the large pool of brine beneath the surface of central Michigan. It soon became a leader in producing chemicals and new uses for chemical compounds. Rapid growth began in 1914, with the production of chloroform, followed by dry-cleaning fluids, dry ice, insecticides, carbolic acid, Epsom salts, mustard gas, and a blue dye that took the place of indigo. Later it manufactured aspirin, artificial flavors, perfumes, dyes, and new metals. It supplies chemical components for plastic materials, waxes, and paints. A tough organic glass is one of its recent products.

All of the extraction industries have been influenced by technological developments. As a result, only between one and two per cent of the workers of Michigan find employment in these fields. Nevertheless, the basis of the economy of numerous areas remains dependent upon this source of income. Since the largest portion of the products is sent to other states, carriers have profited from these activities. The presence of these native resources lends a degree of stability to the towns dependent upon the extraction operations and adds to the importance of Michigan as one of the significant states in determining American industrialism.

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CHAPTER 21

Railroads

Although the ambitious program of internal improvements proposed during the Mason administration was not pursued, the importance of the railroad was recognized and State construction of the Michigan Southern and the Michigan Central continued. By 1846 the latter line had reached Kalamazoo; and then it was sold to a group of capitalists represented by James F. Joy of Detroit for the sum of two million dollars. The investment was one of the largest made by easterners in the West up to that time. The Michigan Southern was sold to another syndicate for approximately $500,000. The sale to private investors reflected a judgment on the part of the Legislature that the State debt should be reduced and apparently the issue of state versus private ownership was not given serious consideration. The chief objections to the transactions were made by individuals who believed that a larger amount could be obtained for the roads and who opposed absentee ownership.

In addition to the roads mentioned, two small lines financed by private capital operated within the State. In 1830 the Legislative Council had incorporated the Detroit and Pontiac Railroad Company, which was authorized to operate between the two cities named. Despite a loan of $100,000 from the State the road did not reach Birmingham until 1839 and was not completed to Pontiac until several years later. A steam locomotive was not substituted for the original horse-drawn vehicle until 1839. Passenger service was both slow and very irregular, and those individuals who desired a guaranteed schedule preferred to travel by stage coach. The Detroit and Pontiac was not profitable because of an initial lack of freight revenue, and a number of different purchasers failed to improve the financial standing of the road.

The other independent company was the Erie and Kalamazoo, which in 1833 was authorized to build a line from Port Lawrence, now Toledo, to Adrian and thence to the Kalamazoo River. The portion of the road from Toledo to Adrian was ready for operation in 1836. Its first trains were also horse-drawn. The road was driven into bankruptcy in the Panic of 1837 and was later leased in perpetuity to the Michigan Southern Railroad Company.

It will be observed that, with the exception of Detroit, the four lines mentioned linked Michigan communities that ordinarily were without adequate transportation facilities. At the time of the initial construction of these railroads, only the enthusiastic could visualize their extension beyond the limits of the State. The new owner of the Michigan Central, however, immediately made plans to extend it westward to New Buffalo, on Lake Michigan. When this goal had been attained, in 1849, the financial returns justified further connections, and three years later, by arrangements made with the Illinois Central, the Michigan Central reached Chicago. The Southern was likewise extended to afford the southern counties in Michigan access to the Chicago terminal (1852).

In 1854, by arrangements made with the New York Central, and with the completion of a line from Buffalo to Windsor, Detroit gained railroad connections with New York and was favorably situated on a pioneer New York-Chicago route. The Michigan Southern also became part of another New York-Chicago artery. The Detroit and Pontiac was reorganized as the Detroit and Milwaukee and was extended to Grand Haven on Lake Michigan in 1858. This step marked the completion of three east-and-west lines across the State as originally projected in 1837, but it was accomplished under the ownership and management of private companies and most of the capital was furnished by eastern investors.

The potential value of the railroads was but slowly appreciated by some, and opposition to their presence was frequent. Disputes with farmers concerning livestock killed were numerous, and many residents complained about the noise of the locomotives. A few instances of organized hostilities were of particular concern. On the night of November 18, 1850, the new Michigan Central freight station in Detroit was burned. It was later discovered that the fire was the result of arson, and detectives employed by the company attempted to trace the conspirators. Thirty-six men were finally arraigned and returned to Detroit from Leoni, Jackson County (where opposition to the railroad had been bitter) for trial in 1851. The proceedings that followed marked one of the most interesting criminal cases in the State's history. Some of the ablest attorneys in Detroit appeared for the prosecution while the defense spent money freely to secure the best legal talent, including Senator William H. Seward, of New York, who later served as Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Lincoln.

The conviction of the ringleaders did not end the attacks, for a few years later the car shops of the Michigan Central in Detroit, the new station, the round house with several locomotives, and the freight house were destroyed by incendiary fires set, it was popularly assumed, by friends of the convicted men. On another occasion the tracks of the Detroit and Pontiac on Gratiot Avenue in Detroit were torn up by angry citizens, and it was necessary for the company to secure a new terminal farther removed from the downtown center.

As time passed a new appreciation of the importance of the railroad developed. Major systems were gradually organized throughout the East and both freight and passenger services were greatly improved. Farmers in Michigan, as elsewhere in the country, came to recognize the importance of the railroad in affording them access to distant markets. Lack of available capital restricted new projects, however, and but little interest could be aroused for essential north-and-south lines in the State.

Beginning in 1856, however, extensive grants of land were made by Congress for the building of railroads. The Michigan Legislature, which directed the specific assignment of grants and which later granted "swamp lands" (lands ordinarily regarded as immediately unsuitable for farming because of a need for further drainage) , disposed of the public domain to companies that were ready to undertake the construction of railroads in undeveloped areas, and created a Board of Control to administer the grants. The tracts assigned for these proposed roads were the odd-numbered sections on both sides of the right-of-way running back for a distance of six miles. In return for the favor the companies were required to transport troops and property of the Federal government without cost. Within a year after the passage of liberal land grant legislation, articles of association were filed by eight new companies and by three companies that had already completed their initial plans. Notwithstanding these grants, progress was relatively slow, for some of the roads offered little promise of affording an adequate annual revenue.

This situation was soon remedied by two factors. One of these was an increased emphasis upon lumbering, which encouraged many timber operators to organize or support railroad projects. Often this was done primarily to secure land grants, but the assurance of revenue from the carriage of lumber led to greater enthusiasm for the immediate construction of railroads. A second force was the ambition of numerous villages and towns to be situated on a railroad, and strenuous efforts were made to persuade the officers of the main lines to locate these lines through specific communities. Many towns authorized grants either for the subscription of stock or as outright gifts to the railroad companies, notwithstanding the fact that the State Constitution of 1850 forbade such use of public funds.

In 1870 the question of the legality of monetary aid to the railroads was brought before the Supreme Court in the so-called Salem Case. Judge Thomas Cooley rendered the decision of the court in an exhaustive opinion. He held that taxes could be levied only for public purposes and that public money could no more be employed in behalf of a railroad company than for the establishment of a mill, a hotel, or any other private enterprise. This decision left a large quantity of worthless securities in the hands of the purchasers of such bonds. In an attempt to relieve this situation Governor Baldwin recommended that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the voters to authorize the payment of bonds that had already been issued, but the amendment was defeated by 50,078 votes to 17,453.

The adverse decision did not basically affect railroad history since the majority of the large lines were either already under construction or had received sufficient grants of land. The acreage assigned to the railroad companies under both Congressional acts and legislative grants of "swamp lands" totaled approximately 5,500,000 acres. The grants to the larger companies were as follows: Chicago and Northwestern, 1,124,000 acres; Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, 34,000; Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic, 2,231,370; Grand Rapids and Indiana, 833,204; Michigan Central, 721,523; Pere Marquette, 512,775; Grand Trunk, 37,467. Approximately one-half the land assigned was awarded to companies operating in the Upper Peninsula. There, especially, construction tended to outrun the needs of the area since the bulk of the mining and lumbering products was transported by water. Very significant, however, was the manner in which the majority of Upper Peninsula cities came to be dependent upon the Milwaukee and Chicago terminals.

The greatest amount of railroad construction in Michigan took place between 1870 and 1890. In 1860 there were 779 miles of railroad within the limits of the State. This figure had increased to 1,638 by 1870 and it reached the total of 7,243 miles in 1890. The peak of railroad mileage was attained in 1902 when the 8,200-mile mark was achieved. The most important developments since 1890 have centered around the merging of the numerous small lines into a few main systems. This situation was rather difficult to accomplish in Michigan since the majority of the roads constructed after 1870 could not be converted into east-west systems. The most significant consolidation was that of the Pere Marquette, which has a total of 1,700 miles, most of which are found within the limits of the State. The Pere Marquette now is a part of the Chesapeake and Ohio System. The Michigan Central, now incorporated in the New York Central System, came to include lines from Jackson to Grand Rapids, Detroit to Mackinaw City, Bay City to Jackson by way of Saginaw and Lansing, Detroit to Toledo, and numerous smaller branches in addition to the parent line. The original Michigan Southern is also a part of the New York Central and is the most important link in a line operating from Toledo to Adrian and thence to Elkhart, Indiana.

The Grand Trunk System, which is a part of the great Canadian National, is likewise composed of various units that were once operated as separate roads. The Pennsylvania acquired rights in Michigan through the purchase of the Grand Rapids and Indiana, whose main line ran from Mackinaw City by way of Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo to Richmond, Indiana. The Pennsylvania gained access to Detroit in 1921 through the extension of its Toledo terminal. The Pennsylvania once controlled the Detroit, Toledo and Ironton—a road built during the eighties to reach the Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky coal fields and which, for a short period, was owned by the Ford Motor Company. The Michigan portion of the Wabash System, which unites Detroit and St. Louis, was the outgrowth of lines stimulated by the Detroit Board of Trade in 1880 and 1881. The Ann Arbor, which was organized by Toledo capitalists and extends from Toledo to Frankfort, Michigan, is now a part of the Wabash System. In 1892 the Ann Arbor began the operation of car ferries across Lake Michigan from Frankfort as a means of securing through freight traffic. Its success encouraged other roads with Lake Michigan terminals to adopt the same procedure and today Muskegon and Ludington, in addition to Frankfort, are important centers from which freight ferries leave for Wisconsin lake cities.

The majority of the numerous small lines that were not desired for purposes of consolidation were gradually abandoned in the era between 1917 and 1935. Michigan's industrial position is now the basis of its attractiveness to railroads. The automotive centers, in particular, afford a rich freight traffic for which the leading railroad systems compete.

The decline in railroad construction, starting in the nineties, was contemporary with the beginning of interurban and suburban railways whose peak period came in the decade from 1900 to 1910. These enterprises were made practicable at that time by the development of the electrical industry and high-tension transmission. The street railways in cities were already replacing horses and underground cables with electric current motive power. The electric roads were well fitted to furnish single car or small train passenger service at frequent intervals. They often had the advantage over the steam railroads, also, of running from the center, and along the principal streets, of the cities and villages that they served. Their expense for right-of-way was comparatively small, since they usually ran along the public highway.

The success of the Ypsilanti-Ann Arbor Interurban, built in 1890 (and originally using steam power), stimulated various other interurban and suburban projects. In time two large consolidated systems were developed in the southern Peninsula. One was controlled by the Detroit United Railways (the Detroit Traction Company) and the other by the Michigan United Railways. The former centered at Detroit with lines running out to Pontiac, Jackson, Toledo, Flint, Romeo, Imlay City, and Port Huron. The latter, with affiliated companies, had lines connecting Grand Rapids, Holland, Allegan, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, Jackson, Lansing, St. Johns, and Corunna. There were several small lines found elsewhere, in both peninsulas, where railroad passenger service was inadequate.

The interurbans, which usually ran parallel with steam railroads and served the same villages and cities, made serious inroads upon the profits of the railroads, especially in local passenger business. The high point in the traffic on the interurbans came in 1920 and 1921, but, as the automobile came into use and the highways were much improved, private automobiles, busses, and trucks deprived the interurbans of much traffic and they were soon abandoned.

The problem of railroad regulation did not affect Michigan in quite the same way that it agitated the voters of numerous other states. Very few Michigan lines operated under special charters which granted undue privileges, since the State Constitution of 1850 prohibited the granting of special charters, and all later incorporations were made under general legislation. In comparison with other areas the rates in Michigan were never high. In 1883 the average passenger rate per mile was 2.72 cents, in comparison with 3.12 cents in Wisconsin and 2.84 cents in Minnesota. In all the states reporting their freight tariffs during the following year, only Ohio had rates lower than those in Michigan. Nevertheless, the problem of regulation and taxation of railroads emerged as a state issue. Governor Bagley, in 1873, recommended the creation of the office of Railroad Commissioner. The Legislature responded by passing a bill which repealed all of the unrelated existing railroad laws and made provision for a State Commissioner, with advisory powers, to be appointed by the governor.

Partly as a result of the influence of the state Grange and other interested bodies, demands for further controls upon the railroad appeared. The anti-railroad groups secured legislation establishing both maximum passenger and freight rates, insuring the construction of the necessary safety devices, and restricting the issuance of railroad passes. These laws were never as rigid in Michigan as those found in the majority of states sponsoring railroad legislation for the first time.

The establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887 naturally made unnecessary or impossible most types of railroad regulation by state governments, although limited powers remained. A Michigan law regulating passenger fares more adequately was passed in 1889. Two years later the State Legislature required the companies organized under special acts of incorporation or special acts of consolidation (this applied to railroads organized prior to 1850) to come under the general law for purposes of taxation.

The real test came in the Pingree administration. A measure known as the Atkinson Bill, arising from the Governor's demands, was introduced into the Legislature in January, 1897. It provided for the abolition of the specific taxes and the substitution of *ad valorem* taxes on the property of all railroad, telegraph, telephone, and express companies after an assessment of true cost value had been determined by a State Board of Assessors. The bill was especially popular among the rural legislators. The measure passed the House, but the Senate, through the votes of nineteen members, called the "Immortal Nineteen," blocked the law. The Governor continued his fight, and, in a special session in 1900, the legislators submitted a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would give the Legislature power to tax the corporations on an *ad valorem* basis and also to repeal the special charters of all railroads operating on this basis. The Amendment, which was carried by a large majority, was regarded as a great Pingree victory. A court decision in 1905 upheld legislation designed to make effective the interpretation of the new Amendment. This decision has been the basis of general utility taxation in Michigan. In 1919, a Public Utilities Commission with broader powers than those possessed by existing agencies was created. It, in turn, gave way twenty years later to the Michigan Public Service Commission which exercises more extensive authority than did its predecessors.

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CHAPTER 22

Agriculture

Despite the developments in other fields immediately following the Civil War, the leading source of income in the State for many years was agriculture which, from the middle of the century onward, emphasized the raising of crops on a cash basis instead of the almost complete self-sufficiency of the pioneer era. Farming for the first time became a "business." The owner estimated his investment and carefully planned his year's labor in order to earn the largest return. Soil conditions, scientific selection of seed, climatic factors, and marketing conditions entered into the calculation.

The thirty-six millions of acres in Michigan passed from Federal to private ownership through various processes. Much of it was sold to purchasers at the various government land offices, which were conveniently located throughout the State. The homestead policy adopted by the government in 1862 enabled the head of a family to secure 160 acres of land by residing on it for five years and this democratic procedure was the basis of the disposition of approximately three million Michigan acres. This figure was not as large, however, as the total bestowed upon the railroad companies, whose land often sold at high prices because of its favorable location near the transportation arteries. Extensive grants were also made by the Federal government to the State for educational purposes. Many of these lands were situated in rich agricultural regions and were usually disposed of rapidly. Seven million acres were declared swamp land and were given to the State by the Federal government. Much of this land could be reclaimed by drainage and it ultimately formed a basis for profitable agriculture. The bulk of the area in this classification, however, was assigned cheaply (and, too often, carelessly) to lumber operators, who, at a later date, resold it to farmers.

Both native-born Americans and European immigrants shared in the rapid process of settlement. The latter introduced numerous forms of intensive cultivation novel to farmers of New England background. The experience of the Germans demonstrated in many areas that dairy-farming was a profitable form of husbandry.

In 1879, agricultural products accounted for approximately one-half of the income received from all of the natural products. In 1850 there were 1,929,110 acres of improved land in the State and 34,089 farms. Thirty-one years later the farms numbered 119,769 and contained over six million acres of improved land. Prior to 1870 most of the cultivated farms were to be found in the four southern tiers of counties. Between 1870 and 1881

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[1] The average cash value per acre of principal crops of the western states during a period of great agricultural expansion was as follows:

States	*1875*	*1876*	*1877*	*1878*	*1879*	*1880*	*Total*
Michigan	$17.53	$14.46	$15.63	$13.88	$18.96	$16.96	$97.42
Ohio	13.55	12.96	13.34	12.08	15.58	16.60	84.11
Indiana	12.00	10.63	11.42	9.85	14.66	13.82	72.38
Wisconsin	13.08	10.93	11.10	9.77	13.80	12.46	71.14
Minnesota	12.70	8.30	12.79	7.76	10.29	11.54	63.38
Illinois	11.46	8.10	10.04	7.68	12.47	11.64	61.39
Missouri	10.59	9.18	9.68	7.69	10.78	10.85	58.77
Kansas	9.51	10.37	8.39	7.58	9.11	7.98	52.94
Iowa	8.60	7.30	9.09	5.80	8.88	9.34	49.01
Nebraska	7.28	6.40	7.89	6.55	8.60	6.88	43.60

United States Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture. 1875*, p. 32; *1876*, p. 103; *1877*, p. 169; *1878*, p. 270; *1879*, p. 139; *1880*, p. 198.

there was an onrush of settlers to the northern counties, which practically doubled the amount of land under cultivation.

The process of acquiring land for farming was virtually completed by 1900, although some additional tracts have been added since that date. In 1940, approximately one-half of the total area of the State was included within its 187,589 farms, which comprised about one-seventh of the total valuation of Michigan property.

Although many factors explain this great agrarian development the most important was the fact that farming in Michigan was on a very profitable basis.[1]

The most important general crop was wheat. The average number of bushels per acre in 1871 was 19.15, which resulted in a return of $22.81 per acre. The market price per bushel was $1.17, a figure that was exceeded in only one other state (Indiana) in the Middle West. The wheat exported from Michigan brought more money into the State than did all of the other surplus crops. All of the counties shared in wheat production; although the farmers of the northern areas did not have as large a yield as those of the southern counties, the discrepancy often was not significant.

Wool contributed greatly to this agrarian wealth, and here also there was no area of specialization. Indian corn, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat, clover, pears, potatoes, hay, and hops were also cultivated extensively. After 1880, wheat became less important. Soil exhaustion and the presence of diseases and insect pests that could not be easily eradicated diminished the emphasis upon this grain. Another important factor was the removal of the differential upon freight rates in states farther west.

The decline in importance of wheat, however, did not injure the status of agriculture. In the southern counties there was a greater emphasis upon dairy products, which were sold in the growing urban centers. Likewise, the era of specialization in Michigan farming had begun. Celery was raised profitably in several counties. Eleven of the Lake Michigan counties (from the Indiana line to Grand Traverse) constituted the fruit belt.

Fruit had been shipped from Benton Harbor to the Chicago market as early as 1840, but, after 1880, new means of transportation and the establishment of canneries made possible the emphasis upon fruit culture to the partial exclusion of other agricultural interests. The sugar beet was successfully raised in many regions, beginning in 1891. Several of the counties in the central part of the Lower Peninsula and in various parts of the Upper Peninsula were found to be ideally suited to the raising of potatoes.

The largest number of farms are specialized and represent judgment based both upon experience and upon a consideration of scientific principles of husbandry and economics. In general, no one crop is raised to the exclusion of all others. Thus a degree of diversified, but not general, agriculture prevails.[2]

As a result, farm income tends to be relatively stable with an accompanying absence of economic distress so noticeable in

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[2] The diversified character of Michigan farming can be gleaned quickly from the following figures covering a period which is typical:

AVERAGE ACREAGE AND FARM VALUES OF MAJOR CROPS IN MICHIGAN (1928-37)

Acreage		*Per cent of tillable land*	*Average Annual Value*	
			Total in thousands	*Per acre*
Hay	2,579,600	22	$29,037	$11.26
Corn	1,468,000	13	28,420	19.36
Oats	1,351,900	11	13,962	10.33
Wheat	821,500	7	13,379	16.29
Beans	566,100	5	12,857	22.71
Fruit	326,600	3	13,399	41.03
Potatoes	279,600	2	14,481	51.79
Barley	226,100	2	2,905	12.85
Sugar beets	93,600	1	4,662	49.81
Rye	159,200	1	1,225	7.07
Clover seed	125,300	1	1,517	12.11
Alfalfa seed	30,878	—	435	14.08
Truck crops	110,460	1	10,786	97.48
Peppermint	13,626	—	776	56.95

E. B. Hill, *Types of Farming in Michigan* (East Lansing, 1939), p. 38.

many rural districts. The State contains surprisingly few farms that are over 160 acres in area. Likewise, the number of farms under the twenty-acre level is not large. The general average size of the farms in the State, since 1850, has tended to be near the one-hundred-acre level. The number of mortgages is small in comparison with other states. The amount of additional farm labor required by the owner has also been relatively insignificant. There are few tenant farmers on a subsistence level and the majority of individuals given this classification usually rent farms with a profitable return.

The average farmer enjoys a substantial standard of living and independence. His wealth is the result of good farm lands and the additional value assigned to his property because of the premium of location.

A disturbing aspect of the agricultural situation is the problem of the cut-over region, comprising a vast area in the northern counties where lumbering was once flourishing. Some settlers were attracted to these regions under the assumption, and with the hope, that the soil would be as productive as that of the fertile southern counties. Lumbering companies usually offered the land cheap and the low price appealed to would-be farmers with small capital available. Many purchasers abandoned their farms after two or three seasons of effort.

Although much of this region has been included in a reforestation program, some ten million acres are labeled "farm land." Many farms are operated by owners who have labored under adverse conditions even to clear the land. The process has been slow and costly, and since most of the soil is not prepared to yield good crops and the growing season is brief, the farm income has been low. Many of the farmers have not followed the latest practices in agriculture, but even where this has been done the inferior marketing facilities deprive the inhabitants of a standard of farm living enjoyed elsewhere. Not infrequently the owners of these farms have found it necessary to augment their incomes by offering their services in other fields, but the additional sources of employment in the nonindustrial regions have never been numerous.

The Michigan farmer has been able to establish a far-reaching market for his products because of an emphasis upon quality. This has been especially true of fruit and potato products. The prevailing prices at the Benton Harbor fruit market and the Greenville potato market are indexes in establishing national bids for the respective commodities.

The gains made in Michigan agriculture can be credited in part to the assistance given by the State government. The Dairy and Food Department was one of the first State agencies to be established by law and through its suggestions Michigan farmers were encouraged to shift from the growing of grain products, for example, to livestock husbandry. By 1921 the number of agencies created by the State government in response to agrarian demands had become so large that they were consolidated under the jurisdiction of the State Department of Agriculture. This division took over the analysis of food, seeds, fertilizer, and the collection and publication of State agricultural statistics. It also has under its jurisdiction the powers and duties formerly vested in the Michigan Agricultural Fair Commission, the Department of Animal Husbandry, the Agricultural Division under the Secretary of State, Food and Drug Commissioner, State Forestry Board, Marketing Director, and numerous inspectors of specialized agrarian units. It is also the duty of the Commissioner of Agriculture to foster and encourage the dairy industry of the State and to investigate the general conditions of cheese and cream factories with the object of improving the quality of their products.

The work of the State department supplements the services performed by the Michigan State College, whose function has been primarily educational, but no less important. Extension work at the agricultural school began in 1875 with the organization of farmers' institutes where specialized lecturers discussed important contemporary problems of husbandry. Ten years later the college, for the first time, undertook its extensive program of publication. The experimental farms of the school have done much to demonstrate the practicability of new types of seed. The Agricultural County Agent, found in most rural counties, works in coöperation with both the Michigan State College and the United States Department of Agriculture.

The State Board of Health, created in 1873, is one of many governmental agencies that has been of especial assistance to the rural population. It has been concerned with improving conditions affecting health and sanitation in areas where these matters have been neglected. In 1920 the department inaugurated a program of child hygiene and public health nursing. A traveling clinic established to curb tuberculosis served as the basis for preventive medicine which has since been supplemented by many county health departments.

Agricultural organizations have contributed to the improvement both of husbandry and farm life. County agricultural societies were numerous even before the middle of the nineteenth century, but because of their almost exclusive emphasis upon scientific farming the membership was never large. The first organization to consider the general problem of the farmer and rural life was the Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, as the order was popularly termed. This fraternal body, which was founded by Oliver Kelly in 1867 to promote the social and educational interests of the farmers, reached Michigan in 1872 and enjoyed a period of very rapid growth between 1873 and 1875.

Undoubtedly, many affiliated themselves with the Grange in the hope that the organization would demand railroad regulation and other reforms achieved by the Patrons of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other states where the membership was large and aggressive. Although the state Grange labored for a moderate degree of railroad legislation, the order officially pursued a course far from radical. Some of the local Granges endorsed Greenback candidates, however, and were sources of power in county politics.

With almost complete unanimity the Grange embarked upon an elaborate program of coöperatives. The projects included both stores and produce establishments with the aim of lower costs to farmers as consumers and higher prices to farmers as sellers. The retail establishments were ordinarily short-lived, since difficulties of credit and depreciation were not carefully considered. The marketing establishments and dairies served as the basis for the numerous coöperatives (only a portion of which are Grange-inspired) found in present-day Michigan.

Grange membership began to decline after 1880, but the organization continued to play a vital rôle in Michigan rural life. It has sponsored much important legislation both to promote the economic interests of the farmers and to attain a more abundant country life. This has included especial emphasis upon good roads, schools, and health facilities. The Grange remained the most important center of social life in many communities.

Other organizations less conservative in character have attracted many members. The Patrons of Industry, founded in 1887, emphasized coöperatives and finally entered state politics. The Michigan State Farm Bureau, established in 1919 and affiliated with the American Farm Bureau Federation, represents a more recent agrarian approach toward the emphasis upon coöperatives and economic problems of the farm.

Country life has never been a source of discontent for people in Michigan. The general wealth of the farmers and their nearness to the numerous towns have prevented them from experiencing the extreme isolation so frequently associated with the farm. An illustration of the manner in which the farmer has accepted the findings of technology is afforded by the rapid strides in the use of electricity on the farm. The majority of rural residents express the view that "electricity is cheaper than the hired man." It is estimated that approximately eighty-five per cent of Michigan's farms are electrified.

Electric pumps are used to irrigate beet, fruit, berry, and truck farms. Time and labor are saved through the process of shearing sheep with electric clippers. Electric power is also utilized for the radio, washer, flat iron, water system, kitchen range, feed grinder, milker, brooder, house heater, and silo filler. Few farms are without either a telephone or an automobile.

The farmers of Michigan have been fortunate in securing the assistance of a press vitally interested in the problems of husbandry. The *Michigan Farmer,* which began publication in 1843, was the forerunner of numerous farm periodicals. The *Grange Visitor,* published by the Patrons of Husbandry, also served as a model for journals of farm organizations.

Agriculture has been at the root of substantial contributions to other fields of industry. Woolen mills were established in many towns in the period subsequent to the Civil War; the same years witnessed the growth of cheese and butter factories. By 1888 the State could boast of one hundred cheese factories and an equal number of creameries. Canning, always an important function of the pioneer farm wife, gradually became subject to factory methods in the industrial era. The largest canneries are located near the respective sources of supply of fruits, corn, and peas in western and central Michigan. Beet-sugar factories have been located in almost a score of cities to refine the products grown in adjacent areas. Battle Creek is one of the capitals of the food products industries.

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CHAPTER 23

Town and City: The Generation after the Civil War

MICHIGAN'S EXPANSION after 1865 was not confined to rural communities and centers dependent upon the utilization of the natural resources, for the industrial and commercial cities also registered remarkable gains. In 1864, the nineteen incorporated cities of the State had a population of 130,158 which, in an interval of twenty years, increased to 328,372. The census of 1860 credited Detroit with a population of 45,619; in 1870, with 79,577; 1880, 116,340; 1890, 205,876; 1900, 258,704. A very similar proportion of growth was shown in several of the other cities.

The majority of large towns had diversified industries whose products supplied an immediate hinterland. The typical shop employed only a few workers since large-scale establishments did not invade Michigan in substantial numbers until after 1900. Packing-houses, cigar factories, breweries, furniture plants, and agricultural implement establishments were among the industries usually found in any city.

Some specialization amidst this diversification was indicative of future trends. By 1894, over 4,500 men were employed in the furniture factories of the Grand Rapids metropolitan area and the city was already known as the "furniture capital" of the nation. The Kalamazoo paper mills had a pay-roll of several hundred, a forecast of the future importance of the industry to the city. The Frederick Stearns and Parke Davis and Company pharmaceutical houses in Detroit enjoyed a national reputation and helped substantially to make Detroit a leading wholesale and manufacturing drug center.

A growing civic consciousness and an appreciation of the problems of urbanization are evidenced in a number of cities. The Detroit police force was formally organized in 1873 and ten years later numbered 193 with a budget of over $170,000. Volunteer fire departments gave way to paid professional fire fighters. In few respects were changes greater than in sanitary engineering. Even in the larger cities polluted water supplies were frequent causes of epidemics. Appropriations for health, including expenditures for sewer construction, were included in most city budgets. East Saginaw, which authorized $16,000 for sewage facilities in 1866, spent a total of $500,000 by 1889.

A new philanthropic emphasis also characterized urban life. This was first observable in the larger contributions to agencies and institutions founded by religious bodies. Before the close of the century, however, nonsectarian organizations became more numerous and were liberally supported. Philanthropy was not restricted to any specific type of activity; orphan homes, havens for the aged, and hospitals shared with colleges, libraries, and art institutes as the recipients of the new wealth.

Towns duplicated many of the services and characteristics of the city. The average small town had its business section which included a general store, grocery stores, meat markets, hardware stores, barber shops, and hotels. Few communities lacked either an opera house or a lodge hall. Usually adjacent to the last mentioned were the few offices rented to the professional men. A blacksmith shop, a dairy, grist mill, and livery stable ordinarily were near, but somewhat distinct from the regular business section. The larger towns had the same types of establishments but in greater numbers and on a more elaborate scale. Usually also there could be added the bank, saloon, undertaking establishment, furniture store, jewelry store, drug store, millinery shop, and perhaps a restaurant and a men's clothing store.

Towns with a population above 3,000, if they were distribution points, normally had bakeries and confectioneries and larger production establishments. Towns under 2,000 ordinarily lacked defined residential sections, although dwellings nearest to the railroads were regarded as constituting the poorer sections.

The county seat differed somewhat from the average town and regarded itself as a miniature capital. It was ordinarily the leading town in the county and its public buildings were not infrequently a source of attraction for visitors. Usually hotels and taverns were more numerous in county seats than in other towns of a similar size.

Town life was distinguished from that of the city by a greater degree of community compactness. The wealthy in the towns were not sufficiently numerous to constitute a class. Their rôle was distinctly patrician; their advice and counsel were available on a friendly basis to all. They were members of the same lodge to which the other townspeople belonged and identified themselves with all of the community institutions and projects. The richest man in the town could be addressed by his given name even by the humblest in the community. Families in the lowest economic brackets likewise were not denied, to any great extent, a place of some equality in the social life of the village. The entire tempo of town life gave a sense of security and worth to each individual.

With the exception of the railroad, means of travel were slow. Until after 1900 horses were practically the only important means of local transportation. Farmers employed them not only for work upon their land but also for carrying surplus products to market and needed supplies from market. Hitched to sleighs and cutters in winter, and to wagons and various styles of carriages the rest of the year, horses were the basis both of business and pleasure driving. Doctors drove horses into the country when visiting their patients. Horses drew the fire-fighting apparatus and the street cars. Horse racing was one of the principal sports. Every village had at least one wagon and carriage shop where vehicles were repaired and sometimes constructed. Blacksmith shops, where horse shoeing and "setting" tires on the wheels of vehicles were the principal activities, were common.

Public hacks first made their appearance in Detroit in 1845. A street omnibus line followed in 1847. A franchise for a street railway was granted by the Common Council to local men in 1862, giving them the exclusive right to build and operate cars on Jefferson, Witherell, Gratiot, Fort, Woodward, Third, and Grand River. Two cars, each drawn by one horse, constituted the initial rolling stock. The tracks were wooden with strap iron nailed on top. Systems of a similar character were gradually organized in other cities. Port Huron was the first city in Michigan, and one of the first in the United States, to electrify its street railways.

Changes in communication were revolutionary. The telegraph, introduced into the State as early as 1847, found its way into the majority of the towns and cities long before the close of the century. In Detroit the first exhibition of the telephone was given in 1877. Before 1878, telephones in the city were used only in pairs, but in that year the first exchange was put into operation. The first operators were telegraph messenger boys, but girls took over the work in 1880, and ever since then telephone operators have been female. In 1881 and the years following, telephone service was extended over a considerable part of the State, and many local exchanges were established. The Bell Telephone Company was incorporated in 1881; it unified many of the local exchanges and established long-distance toll lines. In 1893 connections were made with Chicago and New York. Not until 1916, however, could Detroit talk with San Francisco.

The age delighted in oyster suppers, strawberry festivals, and ice-cream socials for raising money for the church, the band, the village library, or some other worthy cause. It was usual, also, to have an annual donation for the minister and his family to supplement their meager salary, when all sorts of food and provisions, useful and not so useful, would be brought to an evening gathering of the parishioners at the parsonage.

Among the popular recreations was sleigh-riding. Parties were frequently arranged with a social or dance within driving distance as the objective. The ride was taken either in a cutter drawn by one horse, with room for only two persons, or in a farm sleigh drawn by two horses, with four or five couples sitting on hay or straw in the sleigh box and covered with numerous buffalo or wolf robes. Ice skating was a common amusement wherever suitable ponds or lakes were convenient. Baseball had a large following but football was as yet little emphasized. Wrestling, swimming, footracing, jumping, and similar sports were popular among boys and young men. Hunting wild game was enjoyed by the majority of men. Spelling bees, debates, and singing schools were frequently held in village and country school houses and were well attended by young and old. Political speeches and religious revival meetings attracted large audiences.

Popular songs were "Daisy, Daisy," "After the Ball," "On the Banks of the Wabash," "Goodbye Forever," "Robin Adair," "Diamonds in the Rough," "Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie," "Whispering Hope," "Listen to the Mocking Bird," "The Band Played On," "In the Baggage Car Ahead," "Only a Bird in a Gilded Cage," "Oft in the Stilly Night," "Seeing Nellie Home," "Over the Banister," and "I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls."

Homes of the era emphasized comfort. Wood was the principal fuel used both for heating and domestic cooking, although coal was gradually substituted. The parlor of a house, usually the best room, was seldom in use unless the family had distinguished company, a wedding or a funeral, or entertained the Ladies' Aid Society of the church. It was sometimes used by the young lady of the house when she had a beau. The young couple never remained in the common "sitting room" with the family any longer than was necessary. The family Bible was usually kept on a center table in the parlor. A photograph album covered with plush was usually near it. A few books by standard authors of the period were also on exhibition. Various other trinkets, presents, mementoes, and bric-a-brac could be found on the "what-not" in the corner. A kerosene hanging lamp was usually included among the parlor luxuries. The sofa and chairs in the room were commonly covered with horsehair.

Nearly every family considered an almanac—which predicted the weather for a year in advance and advertised some patent medicine which would cure every disease from croup to ingrowing toenails—a necessary article. The local weekly paper and the nearest metropolitan daily were included among the reading of many families.

Most of the family food was prepared in the kitchen of each household instead of being bought ready-made. Grandmothers made tea out of catnip, mullein, docks, and other herbs in the spring and insisted upon all members of the family drinking it. Cooked "greens"—dandelions, docks, cowslips, or horseradish or mustard leaves—appeared on the dining table from time to time; and cabbage, turnips, and apples were supplied from the cellar during the winter. Carrots were used as food for cattle, not for humans. Tomatoes were still considered poisonous or a cause of cancer by some people. Fruit was not eaten for breakfast; but there were coffee and doughnuts, potatoes, pancakes, gravy and syrup, eggs or meat. The housewife "put up" large quantities of canned fruit, canned greens, chow-chow, chili sauce, pickles, jellies, jams, and apple butter. No fresh vegetables could be obtained from the markets during the winter. Young children ate the same food as adults, with the exception that they drank milk instead of tea and coffee. Work in the garden was usually left for the busy housewife and the grandfather and children. Local butchers, as an inducement to increase the number of customers, gave liver free with each purchase of other meat and often included bologna for the youngsters. On the farms, hogs were killed in the late fall and a barrel of pork was salted for future use. Fat salt pork was the staple meat and was usually served fried in fat. A few hams and shoulders were prepared in the smoke-house for use throughout the year. A beef was often killed for winter use, but pork was the more common diet.

Lecture courses gave the people of many communities instruction and entertainment. A list of speakers, with their topics, who appeared in Lansing during the years from 1868 to 1878 under the auspices of the Young Men's Society is perhaps typical: Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), "An American Vandal Abroad" and "Out West"; Justin McCarthy, the Irish statesman, "English Democracy and John Bright"; Olive Logan, "Girls"; Mary A. Livermore, "What Shall Be Done with Our Daughters?" "Superfluous Women," and "Marriage and Divorce"; Wendell Phillips; Henry W. Shaw (Josh Billings); Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the woman suffragist; President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, "Alone or With the Majority"; Frederick Douglass, the noted Negro author and lecturer; Thomas Nast, who gave a chalk talk; Bret Harte; Robert Collyer, "Salt"; J. W. Powell, "The Canyon of the Colorado"; David Swing, "The Novel in Literature." Concerts were also given by traveling musicians.

Many other cities and villages supported such courses, sometimes less extensive ones, varying according to the size of the place and the amount of financial support that could be obtained. Usually these were given under the auspices of some society or school, and the members of it sold season tickets in advance to guarantee financial success. Colleges also offered similar courses.

The Chautauquas grew out of the lecture courses. While the lecture courses were usually given in the winters, the Chautauqua gatherings were held in the summer, usually in a large tent. Course tickets were also sold in advance to guarantee financial success. The programs were usually of a serious nature, designed for instruction and intellectual satisfaction. Lectures formed the core of the programs with musical and entertainment numbers thrown in to help sell the tickets.

The programs had a broadening and liberalizing influence upon the audiences. Susan B. Anthony, the woman suffragist, Maude Ballington Booth, the friend of prisoners, Jane Addams of Hull House, Samuel Gompers, the great labor leader, and Arctic explorers were listened to with equal interest as they told their experiences or advocated causes in which they were interested. The platforms offered opportunity also for politicians and statesmen. Even would-be Presidents did not disdain to appear upon the programs.

Somewhat of a blot upon the scene in the eyes of the more conservative people was the saloon where the thirsty could find liquid and social refreshment. These drinking places ranged all the way from the fashionable club located in the better sections to the so-called "hangout" near the alley. The former was characterized by large mirrors, cut-glass dishes, and not infrequently excellent music, and only the well-dressed were permitted to patronize it. The average saloon, on the other hand, was often called the poor man's club, and it undoubtedly played an important rôle in the politics of the era. Bartenders, usually capable men who were honest and tactful, were often temperate. "Bouncers," often ex-prize fighters, removed the troublesome customers since it was considered bad form to call the police. Free lunches of pretzels, hard-boiled eggs, and bologna, and frequently more elaborate menus, were furnished everyone buying a drink.

Michigan's mode of life was not unique. In its broadest aspects it was closely identified with the prevailing social and intellectual currents of the nation.

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CHAPTER 24

A Quarter-Century of Republican Rule

THE ERA IMMEDIATELY following the Civil War witnessed the political domination of the Republican Party. There were, however, numerous factions within this group. Differences resulting from economic questions of a national character, including currency and tariff issues, resulted in numerous divisions. Temperance discussion enlivened all party meetings. Geographical sectionalism and urban-rural jealousies also played an important part in the shaping of political groupings; and, finally, a number of factions revolved around personal enmities.

Election machinery was subject to few regulations. Nominations were made at caucuses and conventions where the influence of the independent voter was negligible. It was not difficult for political bosses or other interested persons to hand ballots to the men under their control or influence and to follow them to the ballot box to see that they voted as instructed. Elections were not always quiet and orderly occasions. Drunkenness and fighting were common about many of the polling places.

In the state election of 1866 the most prominent issue was the reconstruction of the Southern states. The Republican organization was under the domination of the radicals of the party who insisted that the states lately in secession should not have representation in Congress until they had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment (giving citizenship to the Negro). Governor Henry H. Crapo, elected in 1864, was nominated for a second term. Five Generals were placed on the ticket for important State offices, and Zachariah Chandler and the famous German liberal, Carl Schurz (the latter was at the time a resident of Michigan) were sent as delegates to the Convention of northern Republicans and southern Loyalists in Philadelphia.

The supporters of President Johnson, called the National Unionists, met at Detroit in September and endorsed a slate headed by General Alpheus S. Williams, nominee for governor. About half of the candidates had been Democrats and the remainder were dissatisfied Republicans. The official Democratic State Convention which followed adopted the Unionist State ticket. Thus the Democrats and the conservative Republicans were in agreement in favoring President Johnson's plan of admitting members of Congress from the Southern states immediately and without restrictions.

The campaign in the State was carried on vigorously with both parties appealing to the veterans through the nomination of many ex-soldiers. The Republican organization was especially active and out-of-state speakers with national reputations were secured. The Detroit *Post,* backed by Chandler's money and with Carl Schurz as its editor-in-chief, was the leading newspaper of the Republican radicals. The Detroit *Free Press* remained the most prominent and influential of the Democratic papers.

At the election in November the radical Republicans obtained a substantial majority in each of the Congressional districts. In the State House of Representatives the number of Democrats was reduced from twenty-one to seventeen, while they retained only two of the thirty-two seats in the Senate. Governor Crapo was re-elected by a majority of about 30,000, receiving fifty-nine per cent of the total vote.

In the Republican State Convention held in March, 1868, Grant and Colfax were recommended as candidates for President and Vice-President respectively at the fall election. The platform also advocated the adoption of the proposed new Constitution of 1867 for Michigan which was to be submitted to the voters.

This revised Constitution incorporated two controversial provisions: Negro suffrage and authorization of municipal aid for railroads. The former represented a belief that the State should not lag behind the times by restricting the ballot to whites. The second would enable cities and townships to vote taxes to aid the construction of railroads. The combined opposition to these proposals defeated the Constitution by an adverse vote of 38,853. Prohibition, voted upon as a separate issue, was rejected, also.

In the November election of 1868 the Republicans supported Grant and Colfax on the national ticket. Henry P. Baldwin was their candidate for governor. The Democrats could arouse little enthusiasm for Seymour, their nominee for President, and the State ticket was lacking in figures of outstanding popularity. Grant received about fifty-seven per cent of the total vote and the percentage for Baldwin as governor was practically the same. All six Congressmen elected were Republicans. Twenty-seven Republicans and five Democrats were elected to the State Senate and seventy-two Republicans and twenty-eight Democrats to the House. This victory made possible the re-election by the Legislature of Chandler to the United States Senate for a third term.

The Prohibitionists, the forerunners of a series of third parties, made nominations for governor and for congressmen in the state election in 1870. Although the party was small in numbers it caused some worry on the part of the old political managers concerning its potential strength and their possible losses. They were afraid of losing the anti-temperance and the saloon vote if they favored prohibition even mildly. Baldwin was reelected Governor by a plurality of 16,785, receiving about fifty-four per cent of the total vote, while the temperance candidate received about two per cent.

Great interest centered around the choice of a United States Senator in 1871. For this office there were four candidates from the Republican party: Jacob M. Howard, who had made a national reputation by his ability and long service in the State Senate; Austin Blair, the war Governor, who was a member of the lower House of Congress; Thomas W. Ferry, also a member of the House of Representatives, who was considered a representative of the younger Republicans; and William A. Howard, who was prominent in party circles. Ferry was the only candidate who was born in Michigan. His residency in the western part of the State gave him the greater advantage because of the fact that both Michigan Senators lived in Detroit, and a bitter feeling had grown up out-State against what was called "the Detroit Ring." Of the eleven United States Senators from Michigan since it became a state, seven had been Detroit men, and two more had been residents of the eastern side of the State. When the time for the election came in January, 1871, crowds of supporters of the different candidates filled the hotels of the small town of Lansing. The old Capitol was packed with members of the Legislature, lobbyists, and spectators. The strength of western Michigan was registered by the election of Ferry on the sixth ballot.

Liberal Republicans united with the Democrats, in the election of 1872, in opposition to the radical Republicans. The radicals declared that the most important issue was the settlement of the problems growing out of the Civil War. They boasted of their record and claimed that they were the only party that could be trusted to keep the national government from falling into the hands of the late rebellious Southerners. The Democrats and liberal Republicans asserted that the War was over; that it was time to stop waving the "bloody shirt"; that the former rebels should be pardoned; and that the radical administration of President Grant was corrupt and had failed to meet the newer economic issues.

Despite these indictments the Republicans continued to display great strength. The majority for Grant in the State was over 55,100 and included the ordinarily Democratic stronghold of Wayne County. John Bagley, the Republican nominee for governor, easily defeated former governor Austin Blair, who, embittered by methods employed to defeat him for the senator-ship and disappointed with the new Republican leadership, had deserted to the Democratic party.

The political campaign of 1874 in Michigan was influenced by issues created by low wages and unemployment in the cities. The effects of the depression were most observable, however, in the recently settled rural areas in the central counties where the majority of residents were not as yet financially well established. Many dissatisfied farmers used the Grange as an agency to demand political reform. The Prohibition party, which nominated an entire State ticket, was looked upon with disfavor by the Republicans, and the Democrats were openly hostile to it. Many Grangers were identified with the Prohibitionists, since they hoped in this manner to express their disapproval of both of the older parties.

Another new party, at least new in name, was started by the opposition members of the Legislature. It was called the National Reform party and resembled somewhat the Liberal party of 1872. It was dedicated to the "restoration of purity and statesmanship to the high places of our State and National administrations." It held a thinly attended convention in Lansing in August. The Democrats were disappointed by this movement for they had expected to unite the opposition to the Republican party in power. Its statement on the currency question, which was awaited with interest by the old parties, was weak and meaningless. It favored a return to a specie basis "as rapidly as shall be consistent with financial prosperity." The platform of the Republicans stated that while greenbacks and national-bank notes were far superior as a circulating medium to any other paper currency existing in the United States, yet resumption of specie payments was demanded as soon as possible.

In the election of 1874 there was a strong State and nationwide swing away from the Republican party which was accused of corruption and extravagance and of too much interference with the governments of the Southern states. It was held responsible for the Salary Grab Act, the Crédit Mobilier scandal, and other instances of "evil-doing" in national affairs. The radicals of the party, it was charged, were planning a third term for Grant. Many voters were tired of having the radicals still wave the "bloody shirt" and felt that the South had been sufficiently punished.

Governor Bagley was re-elected by a majority of less than 6,000. The Michigan Democrats, who had elected only three Congressmen in the interval since 1854, sent three to Washington in 1874. The Republicans had eighteen members of the State Senate and the Democrats fourteen; while in the House there were fifty-three Republicans and forty-seven Democrats.

As the senatorial election approached, Chandler was accused of having identified himself with "an obnoxious system of party management which had resulted in widespread discontent in the Republican Party." It was asserted that he "represented the spoils system and opposed reform, that he was a machine politician and dominated the ring in Michigan and was associated with Butler in Washington." He had made personal enemies in the State by his aggressive methods and use of the patronage.

The Republican majority in the Legislature led Chandler to believe that he would be re-elected, since more than half of the Republicans were pledged to vote for him. He wanted to assemble them in a caucus before his opponents had time to organize and bind them by its action to support him. But only fifty-seven of the seventy-one Republican members of the Legislature attended the caucus. On the first ballot fifty-two votes were cast for Chandler. Only one negative vote was cast against a motion to make the nomination unanimous, and that bound fifty-seven members to vote for him, while sixty-seven votes were required for his election. Isaac P. Christiancy, a conservative Republican, was finally elected as a compromise choice to succeed Chandler.

In February, 1879, Chandler was again elected to the United States Senate by the Legislature to complete the term of Senator Christiancy who had resigned. He took part in the political campaign in that year and on October 31 made a speech in Chicago. He retired that night, apparently as well as usual, but was found dead in bed in the morning. If he had lived, he would probably have been a leading candidate for the Presidency in the election of 1880.

Political activities did not decline with Chandler's defeat. The consequences of the panic became very noticeable in 1875 and the dissatisfied elements united their forces to organize the Greenback party which, it was hoped, would receive support from both agrarian and labor elements. The party not only advocated the abolition of government interest-bearing bonds, but it also demanded the further issuance of legal tender greenbacks as a means of raising prices. Certain promises emphasizing state reform were also made.

A complete Greenback state ticket was nominated in 1876 and loyalty was pledged to Peter Cooper, the presidential candidate. His greatest support came from the recently settled rural counties. Despite the Greenback inroads the Republicans carried the State for Rutherford B. Hayes by a comfortable margin. In the election Charles M. Croswell was chosen Governor by a plurality of about 23,000 over the Democratic and Greenback party candidates. Although the Republicans polled only fifty-two per cent of the vote, they elected three-fourths of the members of the Legislature.

Governor Croswell was re-elected in 1878. He received 47,000 more votes than the Democratic candidate, but the Greenback party polled 73,000 votes, and thus Croswell was a minority Governor. If the Greenbackers had combined with the Democrats, the Republicans might possibly have been defeated. The Democratic party was controlled by conservatives, however, who favored hard money and opposed the Greenback policy of repealing the act for the resumption of specie payments and the National Bank Act. The Prohibitionists remained active and nominated a ticket, although they were losing strength as a political party. The Republicans elected ninety members of the Legislature out of a total membership of 132, and all nine Congressmen. The Democrats elected twenty-four members of the Legislature and the Greenbackers eighteen. Throughout the entire campaign the Grangers, the Greenbackers, and the Prohibitionists caused much worry to the leaders of the two major parties, in Michigan as elsewhere.

David H. Jerome was nominated for governor by the Republicans in 1880 after a bitter convention contest and was elected by a majority of about 9,000 and a plurality of some 41,000. He was the first native of Michigan to fill that office. He was defeated in the Republican débacle two years later when a coalition of the Democrats and Greenbackers elected Josiah W. Begole Governor on a fusion ticket. This was the first defeat of the Republican party in a State election since its formation in 1854, but it did not extend beyond the governorship, since the remainder of the Republican State ticket was elected.

In the spring election of the following year the Republican candidates for the Supreme Court and Regents of the University were defeated and Michigan became a doubtful State in politics. The Republican defeats can be attributed to the fact that voters were gradually losing interest in problems arising out of the Civil War, and were far more concerned with financial and economic issues.

In 1884 the Michigan delegation to the Republican National Convention supported Blaine. General Russell A. Alger, who had an excellent record in the Civil War, was nominated for governor on the Republican ticket. He had volunteered as a Private in the Second Michigan Cavalry, and had risen to the rank of Captain, then to Major, Lieutenant Colonel in the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, and Colonel of the Fifth Michigan Cavalry in Custer's famous brigade. He was made Brigadier General in 1864 and a Major General the next year for gallant and meritorious services. At the close of the War he settled down in Detroit and acquired a fortune in the lumber industry. The campaign was hotly contested. The Republicans had a plurality of about 3,000 for the national ticket and a larger vote for governor; but the Greenback-Democratic Fusionists elected seven of the eleven Michigan Congressmen.

Governor Alger declined a renomination for governor in 1886 and soon initiated a campaign for the Presidency in 1888. His highest vote at the Chicago Republican Convention was 142 while the number necessary for nomination was 414.

In 1886, in an effort to court the agrarian vote, the Republicans nominated a farmer in Branch County, Cyrus G. Luce, for governor, and he was elected by a small majority over George L. Yaple, the Fusionist candidate. The Republicans had placed a plank in their platform recommending that an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the liquor traffic be submitted to the voters. In spite of this, the Prohibition party polled 25,179 votes. The amendment was submitted but was defeated by a large wet vote in Wayne County. The Michigan delegation in Congress numbered six Republicans and five Democrats.

Because of weak third party opposition, a lack of unity among the Democrats, and harmony within the Republican ranks, the presidential contest resulted in Republican victory by a comfortable margin in 1888. The Legislature, the next year, sent James McMillan, a conservative Republican leader, to the United States Senate to succeed the liberal Thomas Palmer who had been elected in 1883. The new Senator immediately began to exert an unusual influence within the party and soon became the unchallenged leader of its conservative wing.

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CHAPTER 25

The Beginning of Reform: Pingree and His Successors

THE YEAR 1890 ushered in a decade of uncertainty in Michigan politics in which not only was Republican rule challenged but also considerable strength was demonstrated by the groups which had been demanding greater attention to economic and social questions. During this interval the issues surrounding the Civil War and Republican reference to past achievements became less significant. This emphasis upon new problems and leaders was not unique for various labor-agrarian combinations were appearing elsewhere, especially in the Middle West.

In Michigan, however, the problem of the third parties was complicated by the presence of the Prohibitionists, who had a large following among the liberal-agrarian factions. A considerable number of urban voters were unwilling to endorse temperance and, accordingly, in 1890 the nonprohibition reformers formed the Industrial party. In the same year an aggressive farm organization, the Patrons of Industry, which had its origin in Port Huron in 1887, began to show considerable strength. All three liberal groups held their conventions almost simultaneously at Lansing in the hope that the three bodies would endorse the same candidates, and thus make possible a powerful farmer-labor fusion party. The Industrialists and Prohibitionists could not agree upon temperance, however, and each selected a separate slate. The Patrons refused to enter state politics as a separate party and also rejected all overtures of affiliation. The Order did, however, decide to enter county tickets where its membership was large. In the hope of wooing Patron voters, the Prohibitionists named Azariah S. Partridge, a leading personality in the Patron movement, for Governor.

The Democratic candidate, Edwin B. Winans, was regarded as friendly toward the Patrons and he defeated James Turner, the Republican nominee, who had been selected for his antitemperance views. The Democrats likewise elected the rest of their ticket and seven out of eleven members of Congress. They also controlled the State Legislature with the aid of Patron support. The Patrons hoped to achieve a legislative program, then regarded as radical, which included a demand for a graduated income tax. This was never realized, and the lack of harmony between the partners to the coalition was ever observable.

By 1892 the Patrons were discredited and the remnants of the group endorsed the People's Party, which named James B. Weaver of Iowa for President. The Industrialists also gave up their separate identity and supported the same cause. The new People's Party failed to appeal to a large number of voters and in the election of that year the Republicans regained control of the State, which had cast its electoral vote for Benjamin Harrison. John T. Rich, a farmer, friendly to the Prohibition cause, was elected Governor.

In 1893 another world-wide financial panic occurred and its effects upon Michigan were immediately noticeable. The Central Michigan Savings Bank of Lansing closed its doors on April 18; the First State Bank of Hillsdale, May 10; the Bank of Crystal Falls, June 23; the City National Bank of Greenville, June 23; the Northern National Bank of Big Rapids, July 8; and the Farmer's National Bank of Constantine, August 28. Later, many other banks were compelled to suspend operations.

The banks of Detroit, in which many of the other financial institutions of the State kept deposits, did much to prevent the failure of banks and to alleviate the disastrous effects of the panic by assisting those of their number who found difficulty in meeting their obligations. The Detroit banks adopted the device of using clearing house certificates, as had been done in New York City, to take the place of ready money in operations among themselves. This plan prevented the failure of any bank in the City. In the entire State only fifteen banks were forced into liquidation by the panic, and, of these, nine were private banks and only one was a large concern.

The banks, however, were forced to curtail their loans, and they found it necessary to call in loans when they became due. Many industries, unable to borrow funds for carrying on their business, were compelled to close down. Consequently, thousands of men were unemployed and much hardship resulted. In the winter of 1893 more than 25,000 men in Detroit lost their positions. The City Poor Commission was overwhelmed with applications for relief. Large numbers of men were employed upon public works. The effects of the panic, as is usual in such cases, disappeared slowly, and it required three or four years for business and living conditions to return to normal.

This panic did not affect the fortunes of the Republicans adversely, since the national Democratic administration and its policies were responsible for the depression in the eyes of many. Accordingly, in 1894 the Republicans were victorious, although the People's Party polled over 30,000 votes.

Meanwhile, since the results of the panic affected all classes, considerable interest was expressed in the substitution of the bimetallic standard (free coinage of both gold and silver at a fixed ratio and with both metals constituting the standard of value) for the prevailing gold standard. The proponents of silver insisted that their program would bring about a rise in prices and hasten the end of the depression. This new issue cut across party lines. It seemed reasonable to suppose, however, that since bimetallism had a large following among Democrats previously it would be endorsed by that party. Although a majority of Democrats were in favor of it, the friends of President Cleveland, who adhered to the gold standard, tried to prevent the party from officially endorsing this plank.

Two sets of delegates were sent by the Michigan Democrats to the presidential nominating convention in 1896. One was pledged to gold and the other to silver. The action of the convention, which nominated William Jennings Bryan on a free silver platform, undoubtedly pleased the majority of Michigan Democrats who were supported by the People's Party and other free silver advocates. The conservative Democrats in Michigan formed a separate ticket and called themselves Gold Democrats. The Silver Republicans joined with the Democrats and People's Party to effect the Democratic-People's Union Silver party, which was in reality the Democratic party.

Since the Republican party under the leadership of William McKinley was committed to the gold standard, many Republicans in the State were worried over the strength of the silver movement. In an effort to win liberal votes they nominated Hazen S. Pingree, a Detroit manufacturer, who had been elected mayor in 1889, for governor. Pingree had won a reputation both as a liberal and as a friend of labor. He had been particularly successful in attacking the street railway company and in gaining moderate concessions from it. Most spectacular, however, was his "potato patch" plan, which was inaugurated in 1893 during the first year of the panic. When the number of unemployed in Detroit became alarming, the mayor proposed to alleviate their plight by cultivating the vacant lots in Detroit. Small tracts of ground were assigned to the unemployed, who were assisted in preparing the land for cultivation. Although only about $14,000 worth of food was raised during the first year the project attracted widespread attention, since it demonstrated that Detroit had a mayor who was at least attempting to solve the problem. Both Pingree and McKinley were successful in the November election, although the extent to which each aided the other cannot be accurately determined.

In his Inaugural Address to the Legislature the new Governor advocated numerous political reforms, including the substitution of the direct primary for the nominating convention. He also urged that United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people instead of by the legislature. He fought for numerous reforms in taxation, denouncing especially the charters that enabled railroads and other public utilities to escape their just burden of taxation. Pingree was less successful, in general, as Governor than as mayor of Detroit. Although only a portion of his reforms were enacted, he helped to lay the basis for the liberal movement in the Republican party which was carried forward more successfully by some of his successors.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in the spring of 1898 served to detract attention from Governor Pingree's reform program. Although Michigan was practically wholly unprepared for war, five regiments of volunteers were organized and trained. The Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Regiments served in the campaigns against Santiago.

Another regiment was sent to Cuba at a later time. The naval brigade, composed primarily of Detroit men, was more adequately equipped for action than were the infantry troops. The eleven officers and 270 men of the Michigan Naval Reserve were sent out on the auxiliary cruiser *Yosemite* and they saw service at Savannah, Santiago, Guantanamo, and San Juan, although no members were killed in action.

Michigan personalities were prominent during the war. General Russell A. Alger was Secretary of War. To him was attributed the blame for the general lack of national preparedness, the unfavorable campaign conditions, and the poor rations supplied to the men. Despite the charges brought against Alger he undoubtedly was, to a great extent, the scapegoat for the many administrators who had not anticipated the problems of modern warfare. Frank J. Hecker, another Michigan man, headed the division of transportation. General William R. Shafter, whose boyhood had been spent in Galesburg and whose early experience had included service with the Seventh Michigan Regiment, commanded the Army that was sent to Cuba.

The general reaction against the Pingree program was at its height during the election of 1900. The Democratic party had lost much of its appeal for the liberal insurgents who had contributed to its strength in 1896. McKinley, the Republican presidential nominee, Aaron T. Bliss, the nominee for governor, and the entire State ticket won easy victories. The Governor was re-elected with but little opposition in 1902. In 1904 Fred M. Warner, a successful businessman, won the Republican nomination for governor and defeated his Democratic opponent in the November election. Theodore Roosevelt also received a very large margin over Alton B. Parker, the Democratic presidential nominee.

Governor Warner proved to be a very liberal man who was in sympathy with much of the Pingree program. He vigorously opposed the convention system for nominating candidates for office, and the speed with which the primary system of elections and other governmental reforms were secured can be attributed, in part, to his leadership. His unorthodoxy is demonstrated by his desire to serve as chief executive for a third term, and his victory in 1908 marked the first occasion in the history of the State when a Governor held office three terms in succession. The Republicans showed their usual strength in this campaign. Theodore Roosevelt's margin over Alton B. Parker, his Democratic rival for the presidency, was decisive. Third party opposition was confined to Socialist and Prohibition sentiments, neither of which was significant at the time.

The general desire for reform found expression in a new State Constitution. Following the rejection of the proposed Constitution of 1874, four proposals for the general revision of the Constitution were submitted to popular vote and defeated between 1882 and 1904. A number of amendments were, however, adopted, demonstrating that the majority of the voters preferred to rely upon the amending process as a satisfactory method of securing desired changes. In 1906, however, a proposal for a new constitution was adopted by a large majority and a convention to draft it met in 1907. Unlike the Convention of 1850, which contained a majority of farmers, the one of 1907 had only seven rural representatives. Lawyers, businessmen, ministers, teachers, and representatives of organized labor were included in the personnel.

The new Constitution incorporated some of the liberal demands. Home rule was provided for villages and cities to enable these units of local government to reorganize their plan of administration and to enlarge their scope of services. Municipalities, for example, were permitted to own and operate their public utilities. Corporation franchises were restricted to thirty years. Trust companies were required to comply with the banking laws. The Legislature was empowered to create new regulatory commissions. The suffrage was granted to women taxpayers upon questions regarding the expenditure of money or the issuance of bonds. New emphasis upon conservation can be seen in the clause granting the Legislature authority to reforest state-owned land. Greater care in State accounting systems was also required. The Constitution was approved by the electorate in 1908 by a vote of more than two to one and went into effect January 1, 1909—the third of Michigan's Constitutions.

Chase S. Osborn, a Sault Ste Marie publisher and the Republican nominee for governor in 1910, was the first resident of the Upper Peninsula to be elected chief executive of the State. Osborn represented the liberal wing of the Republican party and he proposed numerous reforms, including the Workmen's Compensation Act. He was closely identified with the progressive movement which was rapidly increasing in strength during these years. He was one of seven governors who endorsed the Republican candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency in 1912. His attitude reflected a general trend on the part of many Republicans toward greater liberalism and democracy in political and economic life.

The political scene was tense in Michigan in 1912 and produced unusual results. Although a majority of the Republican voters favored Roosevelt, the adherents of President Taft controlled the party machinery. The State Convention for choosing delegates to the National Republican Convention at Chicago was held in Bay City, and was probably the most exciting political gathering ever held in Michigan. Wayne County sent 193 Taft delegates and a rival delegation of the same number of Roosevelt supporters, each claiming official standing. The first forenoon was spent in maneuvering for votes and for physical possession of the Armory where the Convention was to be held. The Taft men gained possession of the Armory and admitted only such delegates as were pledged to their candidate. As a result, a number of duly elected delegates were not even admitted to the meeting. Each faction had a chairman on the platform and both men attempted to conduct the meeting. The leader of the Roosevelt group was Frank P. Knox, subsequently Secretary of the Navy under Franklin D. Roosevelt. Noise and confusion reigned throughout the Armory and the majority of the delegates were unable to hear what was said on the stage. A Roosevelt man who advanced to the front of the stage to speak was rushed upon by a man on the stage behind him and was tumbled from the platform.

Both factions elected delegates to the Chicago Convention, which was controlled by the supporters of President Taft; accordingly the Committee on Credentials refused to accredit the Roosevelt delegates, many of whom attended a later session in Chicago which nominated Roosevelt for the Presidency on the new Progressive ticket. A large number of Michigan liberals, however, were unwilling to affiliate with the Progressive party. Although Governor Osborn ultimately endorsed the Roosevelt candidacy, he did not campaign for the Progressives in Michigan nor was he their choice for Governor. The Progressive State platform advocated the simplification of the primary election law and its further extension; the initiative, referendum, and recall; the registration of lobbyists; a corrupt practices act; the limitation of campaign expenses; a strengthening of the pure food law; greater aid for modern methods of education; extension of good roads; further regulation of stock and bond issues; and public ownership of express, telegraph, and telephone companies.

The election returns were somewhat puzzling, since Roosevelt received the electoral votes for the Presidency while the rest of the Progressive ticket made no corresponding showing of strength. Woodbridge N. Ferris, a liberal Democrat, who had attained prominence as an educator and popular lecturer, was elected Governor, although the other State officers and the Legislature were Republican. Apparently, the personality of Roosevelt and not the platform explains the presidential vote. Although the Progressives campaigned actively in 1914 their support was negligible. Ferris, who had demonstrated unusual ability in working harmoniously with the Republican legislature, was re-elected. In 1916 the Michigan Progressives reunited with the Republicans, who endorsed Charles Evans Hughes for the Presidency and Albert Sleeper for the governorship. The entire Republican slate was victorious in the November contest.

CHAPTER 26

The Automobile and Highways

Although contemporary observers were unaware of the importance that it would play in shaping the economic future of Michigan, the automotive industry gradually attained a foremost position in the first decades of the twentieth century. Much exploratory work had been done outside of the State before automobiles were manufactured in Michigan. Throughout the final decade of the last century, a number of individuals successfully experimented with gasoline-driven automobiles which could compete with the bicycle. None of these men, however, entertained the idea of manufacturing automobiles for millions of motorists; their emphasis was instead upon the production of a luxury vehicle which would command a limited market.

The development of the automobile was stimulated, in part, by the earlier popularity of the bicycle. During the nineties the bicycle was transformed from the earlier graceless man-killing high-wheel vehicle to the chain-driven "safety." A large number of men, younger women, and older children turned to this form of transportation. An emphasis upon greater speed, better roads, and racing accompanied the increased use of the bicycle, which had a particular appeal for townspeople who could not afford to maintain a horse. Its use, however, was subject to a number of drawbacks. It accommodated but one person and afforded no protection from the weather. It was ill-adapted to rough or muddy roads and, being propelled by leg power, was of service only to the sturdier members of society, chiefly the younger men and women. In an effort to overcome these limitations advocates of the automobile directed their energies toward the production of a "practical" horseless buggy.

Various interpretations have been advanced to explain the circumstances that made Detroit, Flint, and other cities the capitals of the horseless carriage industry. The potential advantages of Michigan were adequate to attract those interested in venturing out on the new enterprise. Both skilled and unskilled labor were available; a sufficient reservoir of both appeared in the lumbering industry and as a result of considerable "part-time" farming.

Undoubtedly more significant, however, was the fact that Michigan cities were the centers of carriage, wagon, bicycle, and marine engine manufacture. The carriage industry in Detroit was the second largest in the United States by 1900. Many critics contend that the fundamental circumstance was the early success of certain Michigan pioneers who believed in the large-scale production of moderately priced cars.

Two Michigan men early conceived the idea of manufacturing automobiles on a basis different from any previously attempted. Both Ransom E. Olds of Lansing and Henry Ford of Detroit had experimented with gasoline engines for a number of years. By 1898 Olds had perfected a car for which there was considerable demand. In the following year, with the assistance of a Detroit capitalist who had acquired his fortune in the lumbering industry, he was able to begin factory methods of production in Detroit. Judged by present-day standards, this plant was really one that assembled parts, and very little energy was devoted to the manufacturing of the prerequisite materials. A large number of Detroit companies producing parts for bicycles, wagons, and machines were awarded contracts by Olds, and because of the size of the orders, each of the supply plants was able to concentrate its activities with consequent reduction in the cost of the product utilized in assembling the complete car. Fire destroyed the factory in 1901 and it was relocated in Lansing although Detroit continued to furnish most of the materials.

In 1902, 2,500 Olds cars were made in the Lansing plant and this figure rose to 4,000 during the next year. Olds became dissatisfied with existing arrangements and sold his stock, only to venture out later with another car made in Lansing. This new product, the Reo, received its name from the initials of Ransom E. Olds, its manufacturer.

For several years Ford was less successful than Olds. In 1899 several Detroit capitalists were sufficiently impressed with Ford's ideas and initial home-made automobiles to organize the Detroit Automobile Company to produce Ford-designed cars. Primarily because of differences in policy, only three automobiles were manufactured and Ford severed his connections in 1901 and organized the Henry Ford Company, which soon proved a failure. In 1903, however, the present Ford Motor Company was organized.

The formation of the company was contemporary with a new point of view toward the automobile, which was becoming less of a novelty. Advertisements became more numerous and even a substantial number of used cars were marketed. Automobile insurance became available; newspapers carried accounts of four-hundred-mile trips; fashions for the lady motorists attracted equal attention. A greater practical advantage of the automobile was demonstrated in Owosso where a letter carrier used the new form of transportation in his daily work.

In 1909 Ford stabilized the policy of the Company by confining production exclusively to a standard low-price car which was termed the Model T. Over 18,600 units were sold during the first year of this new policy. In 1914 the assembly plant principle was developed and 308,000 cars were made. The number rose to 785,000 two years later. By 1927, when production of the Model T ended, 15,000,000 cars of this design had been manufactured, and the car long since had become the most popular of all makes.

Several revolutionary practices had been inaugurated by Ford, the majority of which were to be followed by other successful producers. One was the introduction of the minimum five-dollar per day wage scale in 1914. The second was the standardization of parts. The third was the selection of dealers who were required to maintain the standards of service laid down by the Company. The fourth was the plan of manufacturing the bulk of the essential parts instead of purchasing them from subcontractors. This necessitated a constant expansion of facilities which were not adequate until the River Rouge plant (acquired in 1914) was completed during the twenties. In 1919 Ford completed the process of purchasing the stock of his original associates and thus the concern became a family company.

The Buick Company was organized in 1903 by Benjamin Briscoe, a manufacturer of parts who had acquired rights of a model designed by David Buick. The company, which had originally planned operations in Detroit, was ultimately located at Flint because financial assistance, which was not forthcoming in Detroit, could be secured in Flint. The Buick emphasized the endurance of its product and first attracted nation-wide attention when David Buick made the trip from Detroit to Flint in 1903 without any mishaps. The Company soon came under the management of W. C. Durant, who was in all probability the first of the automobile pioneers to be concerned with large scale organizations. Durant hoped to stabilize the entire industry by organizing one corporation which would be able to control all of the comparatively successful concerns. In 1908 he formed the General Motors Corporation, which acquired both the Olds and Buick plants. To the disappointment of Durant, Ford was unwilling to sell. This loss was compensated in part by the acquisition of two other flourishing companies, the Cadillac and the Oakland (now the Pontiac). The former was produced by the Detroit Automobile Company which, after the retirement of Ford, had been reorganized as the Cadillac Company. Henry M. Leland, who had originally manufactured parts for Olds, became the guiding genius of the company.

The Oakland was the product of Edward Murphy, a carriage and wagon maker of Pontiac. Murphy noted that many of his employees were leaving Pontiac to secure employment with the Buick Company at Flint. This observation was coupled with the decline in the sale of buggies, and Murphy accordingly, without any previous experience or interest in automobiles, decided to manufacture his own car and began operations in 1908 with an output of 218 units. This figure was increased to 1,035 during the following year. But for his early death, Murphy probably would have become one of the recognized leaders in the new industry.

In addition to the companies mentioned, Durant gained control of a large number of automobile concerns, many of which were located in Michigan. Some of these units were soon sold or utilized in the production of necessary parts for the popular General Motors makes. A final important General Motors product was the Chevrolet, which had originally been manufactured near Buffalo. Durant decided to abandon the Buffalo operations and insisted upon the manufacture of the Chevrolet at Flint. The price was lowered to compete with Ford's Model T. The Chevrolet is significant since it marks the revival of General Motors' appeal to purchasers in the lower-income brackets.[1]

Michigan is also the home of the Chrysler Corporation, whose origin can be traced to the formation of the Maxwell-Briscoe Motor Company in 1904. Out of this concern there was evolved the Maxwell, which was purchased by Walter Chrysler (formerly with General Motors) in 1919. Chrysler emphasized the importance of style in the low-price field and the Maxwell now claimed the additional quality of appearance. Because of the success of this new policy, production was limited only by inadequate facilities. Accordingly, Chrysler, in 1928, acquired the Dodge Motor Company which had been founded in 1914 by John and Horace Dodge, originally affiliated with Ford and manufacturers of the first Ford engines.

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[1] Although the Oldsmobile was the original cheap, quantity-produced car and Cadillac for several years sold a low priced model, both companies had come to concentrate upon more expensive automobiles.

The Dodge factory had been constructed with elaborate facilities for large-scale production and the new plant enabled Chrysler to become one of the "Big Three," along with Ford and General Motors. These companies were among the most important in the State and they now supply nearly all the automobiles sold in the United States. In 1916, over one hundred different makes of automobiles were being manufactured; this number has now been reduced to less than a score.

The "grave-yard" list of motor manufacturers in Michigan is more lengthy than the roll of successful operators. At one time or another, between 1905 and 1921, nearly every city in lower Michigan was the home of one or more automobile ventures, which were usually financed inadequately with local capital. In nearly every instance the initial sum was not sufficient to provide for the necessary expenditures for advertising and adjustments for technological changes required. Also the majority of these enterprises were directed by men who lacked the combined mechanical and business genius requisite for success in the automotive field.

Michigan has remained the undisputed center of the automotive industry. Despite an increased emphasis upon decentralization through construction of many assembly and parts factories elsewhere, the State was the home of 51.3 per cent of the wage earners in the industry in 1919; 62.1 per cent in 1927; and 63.9 per cent in 1939. The entire motor world awaits developments in Detroit and Flint for trends in policy and style.

The industry, as it finally evolved in Michigan, can claim credit, partially at least, for initiating methods of large-scale production which have been imitated elsewhere. Because of their recency, the automobile factories represent a new type of industrial architecture which has come to serve as a model for others. The motor industry has paced the industrialization of the Middle West.

The motor age was accompanied by unparalleled progress in highway construction to which Michigan has contributed in various ways. In primitive Michigan the waterways were the chief avenues. Early pioneers at first used Indian trails, many of which later became improved roads, as lines of communication, and four of the important highways running out of Detroit at the present day follow early trails.

The earliest White Man's road in Michigan was that along the Detroit River fronting the narrow farms of the French settlers. The first inland highway, which served as the basis for the later Gratiot Avenue, was opened by the Moravians, in 1782, from Detroit to their settlement at Mount Clemens. Governor Cass furthered a system of road building, and, largely through his efforts, Congress appropriated $20,000 in 1824 for a road between Detroit and Toledo. An appropriation of a similar amount was made in 1827 for a highway from Detroit to Chicago. Authorizations were made by Congress in the same year for roads between Detroit and Saginaw Bay and from Detroit to Fort Gratiot, the site of present Port Huron. In 1833 a Federal grant was made for a highway from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River where Grand Haven is now situated.

The Chicago Road followed the old Sauk Indian trail which ran from the southern end of Lake Michigan to Detroit. Construction of this artery was begun in 1829 and the Indiana line was reached in 1835. The total initial cost of the highway, which was of great importance in the early settlement of Michigan, was $87,000. The road from Detroit to Saginaw Bay was surveyed in 1828 and work upon it was commenced the next year. It was finished to Pontiac in 1831 and to a point five miles beyond Flint in 1835. This was as far as the United States government built it. The highway from Detroit to Fort Gratiot was constructed between 1830 and 1835. The Grand River Road from Detroit to "some place" on the navigable waters of Grand River was surveyed in 1832. The route ran through Redford, Farmington, and Howell. Clearing of trees and grubbing had been completed to a point beyond Howell by 1837. La Plaisance Road was built by the national government between 1833 and 1837, running from La Plaisance Bay, at Monroe, to connect with the Chicago Road at Tecumseh. Federal highways were meagerly supplemented by the Michigan

Territorial government. In 1829 the Territorial government authorized the laying out of a route from the Chicago Road at Plymouth through the village of Ann Arbor and thence west to Lake Michigan.

The principal motive for construction of these highways was to enable the government to move its armies in time of war. The removal of trees and stumps along their routes, with logs laid across the low marshy places and some drainage where convenient, constituted the major improvements that were made on these roads for several years. However poor, they largely determined the lines of settlement of interior Michigan during the formative years.

Travelers were carried over these mud-bottomed or corduroyed roads on horseback or in stagecoaches with great difficulty. In time stage lines were operated from Detroit to Toledo and to villages along other highways at a passenger rate usually of five cents per mile. Taverns were built along the roads where travelers could obtain food and lodging. Not infrequently towns developed at these sites. Competition from the railroads led to the gradual decline of the stagecoach, and few lines operated after 1870. After Michigan was admitted to the Union the Federal government discontinued building roads in the new State and those which had been completed gradually deteriorated.

Since the early settlers believed that they should not pay high taxes for highways, it was necessary to license private companies to undertake the construction of main arteries. They were required to keep the roads in serviceable condition and their rates of fare were established by the State.

A general plank-road law passed in 1848 provided that roadways must be from two to four rods wide, sixteen feet of which were to constitute a permanent road. Eight feet of the width were to be of three-inch planks. Later amendments enabled the companies to substitute gravel for planks. Usually toll gates were placed at intervals of ten miles. After 1848 the tolls were computed on a combined mileage and vehicle basis. Although some of the companies maintained their roads properly, others neglected the highways, and often the planks were warped and rotted.

The era of railroad construction, after the Civil War, brought the private road enterprises to an end. Usually the companies were willing to sell their rights to governmental units for small sums. This left two forms of highways, state and township. The state highways were few in number and usually had a military significance. Michigan received five per cent of the sales of Federal public lands within her borders for the purpose of building roads and canals. Up to 1880 the State had received about one-half a million dollars from this source.

The other highways were administered by the townships. Ordinarily these roads were poorly constructed and were intended merely as a means of reaching the nearest market centers during favorable weather. The adjoining property owners were assessed a certain number of days' work annually, although a cash payment could be substituted. The labor of each man or large boy counted as a day, irrespective of the degree of service performed. Each farmer furnished his own equipment. An elected pathmaster, usually untrained, supervised and directed the work.

The defects of this system were soon recognized, but reform in most parts of the State was blocked because of a belief that higher taxes would result. There was a similar unwillingness to permit the State to direct road construction, since state revenues would be utilized. Governor Winans, in 1891, advocated the establishment of a general system of road making, but his request went unheeded. The State Grange and other bodies also recommended better roads.

Primarily responsible for the first major interest in good roads, however, were the demands of the bicyclists. In 1893 a law was passed which permitted any county to appoint a county road commissioner and to establish a county road system. The counties were slow in adopting this new plan. The few that did, however, were enabled to employ engineers and other experts. While the county system was being slowly enlarged, a movement for state highways in Michigan was initiated under the direction of Horatio Earle, who was Chief Counsel for the Michigan League of American Wheelmen in 1899 and its President in 1901. He was also a member of the State Senate of Michigan. A law creating a State Highway Department was passed in 1905 and Earle became the first State Highways Commissioner. In the same year the State took steps to license automobile owners, with the proviso that the income derived from this source should be used for highway purposes.

Many highway developments were pioneered in Michigan. The first rural concrete road in the United States was constructed in Wayne County in 1909. These highways soon became famous and were used as models by road engineers from other states and counties. The State highways system was perfected in 1913 under a plan whereby the roads were constructed by townships and counties with financial assistance from the State in the form of an award, if specifications were followed. In 1912 the University of Michigan began courses in highway engineering and a highways laboratory was established. Three years later the first highways conference, or road school, was held at the university, which became a leader in highway education.

During World War I further attention was called to the need for better highways. In 1919 the highway people sponsored an Amendment to the Constitution to permit the sale of fifty million dollars worth of bonds for highway building purposes. The Amendment was adopted following a very heated campaign.

This sum proved insufficient, however, and a gasoline tax whose proceeds were to be devoted to road building was authorized in 1927. Since that date highway construction and maintenance have been further centralized in the State government and the smaller units have gradually become less significant.

Michigan became an outstanding leader in highway advancement, especially in the development of concrete pavements, early adoption of twenty feet as standard width for pavements, 100 feet or more for right-of-ways, the scientific study of snowfall and drift, development of snow removal, the study of subsoils, the use of oil and chemicals for laying dust, establishment of roadside parks and placing of picnic tables, and general beautification of the roadsides. Woodward Avenue from Detroit to Pontiac was the nation's first super-highway, and by-passes around Flint were among the earliest efforts to divert traffic from the congested areas.

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CHAPTER 27

Prosperity and Want

THE DECLINE OF the Progressive party did not result in the death of reform movements which became increasingly nonpartisan in character and which emphasized specific programs rather than an inclusive one. The most intense discussion centered around prohibition of alcoholic liquor. The indifference towards temperance which had characterized the years immediately following 1865 was ended when new organizations made their appearance. The Women's Christian Temperance Union first appeared in Michigan in 1875 and began a State-wide crusade. By 1886 there were sixty-eight local unions in Michigan. The W.C.T.U. labored to secure scientific temperance instruction in the schools. Its affiliation with other women's organizations brought it a large following, and the organization exerted an influence in fields other than temperance. For example, it established a home for wayward girls which served as the basis for the State Industrial School for Girls ultimately located at Adrian.

Reference has already been made to the Prohibition party, which reached the peak of its strength in 1890, when it received approximately seven and one-half per cent of the votes cast for the governorship. The importance of speakers representing the party (especially their presence at huge political rallies) was far greater than the statistical returns would suggest.

By 1881 the movement had gained such momentum that petitions with 100,000 signatures were presented to the Legislature requesting that a constitutional prohibition amendment be submitted to the voters. Governor Jerome opposed this referendum on the ground that temperance could never be enforced by law. Later the electorate was given an opportunity to vote on the question, and it was defeated by the narrow margin of approximately 6,000 votes.

In response to temperance sentiment the Legislature, in 1887, passed a local option law which enabled counties to outlaw the saloon by popular vote. Although this measure was declared unconstitutional by the courts, similar legislation was later upheld. The first local option election was held in Van Buren County in 1890 and resulted in a victory for the dry cause. From this time onward local option showed an increasing strength until by 1918 forty-five counties had entered the dry column. In fact, many temperance devotees abandoned the idea of state-wide prohibition and concentrated their activities upon county action. Early in the twentieth century, however, a new agency, the Anti-Saloon League, came to the fore. It was a nonpartisan movement which stressed state-wide prohibition rather than local option and emphasized temperance to the exclusion of other reforms. The impetus given to the dry crusade by the Anti-Saloon League was more powerful than that of any other dry organization.

In the fall election of 1918 the Legislature submitted a State Constitutional prohibition amendment which was adopted by a vote of 353,378 to 285,754. Thus Michigan entered the prohibition column prior to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment which provided for national prohibition.

The general support given to prohibition at the time of increased urbanization has provoked considerable discussion. In addition to the influence of the temperance organizations that have been mentioned, apparently the rôle of the churches, the press, and the medical profession must be considered. This additional support suggests that temperance reform was not the work of "fanatics" but was regarded as a necessary reform in an age of greater industrialism.

Another reform movement that occupied the attention of the electorate was that of suffrage for women. The first Michigan Equal Suffrage Association was organized in 1870, and a suffrage amendment to the State Constitution was submitted to the voters four years later. The popular hostility to the proposal can be gauged from the fact that only 40,077 votes were cast for it to 135,957 against it. The members of the Association were discouraged and it went out of existence. In 1881, however, the Legislature extended the school suffrage without regard to sex. The advocates of women's suffrage took courage and three years later a new Equal Suffrage Association was founded. Limited suffrage for women in municipal elections was authorized by the Legislature in 1893, but the courts ruled that the measure was unconstitutional. Women, however, continued to labor not only for the ballot but also for various forms of legislation. The entrance of more women into the professional fields and the increasing number of women among wage earners of all types strengthened the cause. The proposal to grant suffrage to women was made at the Constitutional Convention of 1907 but was rejected.

Governor Osborn, a liberal, officially endorsed the women's suffrage movement and, at his insistence, a bill to give the ballot to the women passed the House of Representatives in 1912 but was defeated in the Senate. At the special session of the Legislature the law-makers authorized a referendum on the question. The vote was very close, but a recount of the official returns indicated that the amendment had been rejected by a margin of only 762 votes. At an election held the next year (1913) public sentiment changed, probably because the wets feared that suffrage for women would bring prohibition, and the proposal was defeated decisively. The question was not submitted to the electorate again until 1918, when the male voters finally removed the franchise restrictions based upon sex. Michigan was one of the first three states to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by which suffrage was granted throughout the nation.

Progressive reforms in the political structure of the State were also made by the electorate. The initiative and referendum were adopted in 1913. Although the latter had been previously a basis of amendment of the constitution since the first Constitution of 1835, the submission of a question to the voters was made only by the Legislature. The initiative required the submission of questions to popular decision in response to petitions signed by eight per cent of the voters. Municipal reforms, made possible by the liberal home rule measure included in the Constitution of 1908, were also numerous. Detroit substituted a nine man Council, elected on a nonpartisan basis, for its large and unwieldy Board of Aldermen chosen on a partisan ballot. Grand Rapids and several other cities also abandoned the Board of Aldermen for smaller Councils and City Managers.

Domestic reform crusades became less significant as public attention was directed more and more toward World War I. The declaration of war in April, 1917 provoked an immediate response on the part of both the government and the people of Michigan. The Legislature created the War Preparedness Board, composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor General, State Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Governor and State Treasurer were authorized to borrow $5,000,000 to assist the Federal government in war activities. The proceeds of the loan (which was reduced to $3,500,000) served various purposes. Loans were made to young officers for the purchase of uniforms; grants were made to farmers to assist them in increasing the food supply; the money was used for the publicity campaign to secure greater war effort; part of the sum was spent for assistance to county war boards; and a portion of the fund was used to outfit the Home Guard, which was organized as a substitute for the National Guard after the latter had been called into the service of the nation. Because it was felt that this new force might not prove entirely adequate, the State Constabulary (Michigan State Police) was created. This agency guarded munitions plants, stores of foods, railway stations, and other strategic centers.

A total of approximately 143,000 men and women were enrolled in the armed forces. The civil draft registrations were carried out in every county with very little difficulty, thousands of citizens volunteering their services to assist in the labors of these boards. In many instances meetings were held to assure the coöperative support of the community prior to the departure of draftees for camps. All of the State colleges had military training courses during the war. The majority of men students enrolled in the Student Army Training Corps. They not only received military training but also pursued academic studies.

A majority of the men were sent to Camp Custer, a cantonment established by the United States government near Battle Creek. Approximately $1,000,000 were spent in constructing and maintaining Camp Custer, and Michigan spent additional sums to promote the comfort, health, morale, and entertainment of the young soldiers. Selfridge Field was another Michigan military center which received hundreds of men from all parts of the country to prepare for aerial warfare. The National Guard was trained at Camp Ferris near Grayling.

Many of the Michigan men who were sent overseas were attached to the Thirty-second and Eighty-fifth Divisions. The former was principally composed of Michigan and Wisconsin guardsmen. It arrived in France early in 1918 and was active in Alsace, where it took over the front line trenches. The Thirty-second was the first American division to set foot on German soil, and it became a part of the Army of Occupation in Germany. Its insignia, a flying red arrow with a red crossbar in the middle, signified its achievement in being the first to break the Hindenburg Line. The Eighty-fifth Division was composed principally of Michigan and Wisconsin draftees and was nicknamed the Custer Division. One of its regiments, the Three Hundred and Thirty-ninth, largely composed of Detroit men, was sent to Russia, where it remained through the severe winter of 1918 and 1919. For this service it was given the nickname of the Polar Bears. The rest of the Eighty-fifth was divided and sent to France mainly as replacements in other units.

The contributions of the State to the Liberty Loan campaigns were noticeable. In each of the drives the assigned quota was oversubscribed, largely through a system, administered on a geographical basis, extending into counties, townships, cities, and wards. The salesmen were directed by volunteer workers whose organization was so complete that scarcely an adult person in Michigan escaped a visit from a solicitor. Liberal contributions were made to the Young Men's Christian Association, Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, the Red Cross, and other organizations engaged in the huge task of promoting the welfare of the men in the service.

Appeals for greater production, both of food and war supplies, met with a loyal response. The State War Board made arrangements for the farmers to purchase seed and machinery at cost and to obtain needed credit at banks. The State Agricultural College sent out its trained men to help the farmers in planting for the enlarged acreage. The Grange and other agricultural societies encouraged the new projects. Because of the shortage of farm workers, labor bureaus were organized in cities and volunteer farm workers were sent out by them. The Women's Council of National Defense and the Women's Land Army recruited groups of women and girls to assist in every form of farm labor. The majority of home owners responded to the demand for war gardens.

Of equal importance was the increased production in the Michigan factories. The Ford Motor Company produced boats to serve as submarine chasers. The Lincoln Motor Company devoted its energies primarily to aviation. The Packard Motor Company also produced aircraft. Although the automotive industry was not asked to abandon its civilian output, by the close of the struggle, war materials formed the bulk of productivity.

Few evidences of disloyalty or sabotage were encountered. The Michigan State Constabulary was called upon to curb an incipient strike in the iron mines of the Upper Peninsula. However, because of the pledge of the American Federation of Labor, strikes were few in number.

At the close of hostilities Michigan made arrangements to help the returning veterans. An agency was established in New York City to meet the men returning from overseas, a bonus was voted for each man and woman who served in the armed forces, and agencies were created to supplement the activities of the Federal government in giving further assistance to the former soldiers.

Organizations of veterans appeared following demobilization. The Michigan Department of the American Legion was formed in 1919, and Michigan representatives were present at the first national convention. Within a few years, over three hundred posts in the State were carrying out a program which included Americanization and assistance to needy veterans and their dependents.

The Republican party showed continued strength during the period of World War I and the decade that followed. In the primary election for United States Senator in 1918, Truman H. Newberry, identified with the conservative wing of the party, ex-Governor Osborn, and Henry Ford were the Republican candidates. The last named was likewise a candidate on the Democratic ticket. Newberry emerged the Republican victor and Ford the Democratic. In the fall election the entire Republican ticket, headed by Governor Sleeper, was victorious. The election of Newberry was challenged on the ground that the Federal Corrupt Practices Act had been violated by excessive primary campaign expenditures. A Federal District Court ruled that the Act had been violated and the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which by a five to four decision decreed that Congress had no control over nominations for office. Although Mr. Newberry took his seat in the Senate, he resigned in 1922 and was succeeded by James Couzens, a Detroit multimillionaire who had acquired his fortune as a major stockholder in the Ford Motor Company and who had served both as police commissioner and as mayor of Detroit. He soon acquired national prominence in the Senate, where he identified himself with the liberal Republicans.

Alexander J. Groesbeck, the Republican nominee for governor in 1920, easily defeated ex-Governor Ferris, who won the election to the United States Senate two years later. Groesbeck was re-elected for two succeeding terms, but his bid for a fourth victory brought him defeat at the primary election. Sweeping changes in the State government were introduced during Groesbeck's era. An Administrative Board composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Auditor General, State Highway Commissioner, and Superintendent of Public Instruction (the Lieutenant Governor was later included) was created as a central coördinating body to give unity to State administrative agencies. The Board exercises general supervisory control over various departments, boards, officers, commissions, and institutions and directs many major governmental activities. Governor Groesbeck also won widespread favor by his support of the good-roads program. In 1926 Fred Green won the Republican nomination for governor. He was victorious over his Democratic opponent and was re-elected two years later. He was followed in 1930 by Wilber Brucker, also a Republican, who had previously served as Attorney General.

The major interest of the people of Michigan from 1918 until 1930 was not focused upon politics. It was an era in which the State enjoyed a degree of prosperity never previously experienced. The greatest increase in wealth was in the Detroit metropolitan area and other automotive centers. Although the rural population did not increase, the older agrarian areas shared in the general prosperity. The new wealth resulted in liberal civic appropriations—especially observable in school, public health, and recreational programs. Capital goods expenditures assumed proportions previously unknown. In 1929 the Ambassador Bridge linking Detroit and Windsor, costing $22,500,000, was dedicated, and the next year the $25,000,000 Detroit-Windsor Tunnel was completed. These two expenditures are suggestive of the numerous undertakings by private capital.

During the twenties the consolidation of the banks in Detroit into a few large institutions was begun. Some of these proceeded to establish branches or neighborhood banks to accommodate their customers. In 1925 Michigan's metropolis had four national banks, fourteen state banks, 260 branch banks, and seven trust companies, whose total resources amounted to approximately $808,000,000. Many smaller cities followed the example of Detroit. In 1927 there were 586 state banks within the limits of Michigan.

In the financial panic of 1929 many of the assets of the banks became frozen and could not be readily liquidated in order to meet the demands of depositors for ready money. Accordingly, during 1931 and 1932, a number of the banks in the State were forced to cease operations. At the close of 1931 there were only a few banks in Detroit.

Economic conditions became very bad during 1932. Unemployment was widespread. Existing governmental agencies found the new welfare burden difficult to carry. Tax delinquencies reached a stage previously unknown. Few states suffered such drastic deflation as did Michigan.

The voters accordingly reflected their discontent by turning to the Democratic party, which had shown increasing strength in 1930. In 1932 the State cast its electoral vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Democrat, for President, and chose a Democratic Governor, William Comstock, and a Democratic Legislature.

One of the first problems facing the new Governor was that of the Detroit banks. A loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Guardian Trust Company was opposed by Senator Couzens. After a conference which lasted long into the night, Governor Comstock issued a proclamation on the morning of February 14, 1933, declaring a bank holiday in Michigan to last through February 22nd. The Legislature supported the Governor's action and he was authorized to extend the holiday, if it was considered necessary, and to limit withdrawals of deposits from banks in order to forestall runs upon them. A second proclamation by the Governor permitted the banks to open on February 23rd to pay out deposits in limited amounts for necessary purposes and to receive new trust deposits which might be withdrawn to their full amount. The Michigan holiday was followed by similar action in many other states, and one of the first acts of President Roosevelt was to close the few banks throughout the nation which were still in operation.

Michigan has never looked with pride upon its part in the bank holiday, but its leadership in bringing this about is proof of the rôle which it occupied in the financial world. The early months of 1933 marked a low point in the morale of a population which had enjoyed almost a decade and a half of unparalleled prosperity.

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CHAPTER 28

Labor

THE STORY OF organized labor in Michigan is one of continuous activity from an early date. The first labor society appeared even before the admission of the State into the Union. The Detroit Mechanics Society, established informally in 1818, was incorporated two years later. Ypsilanti also claimed a Working Man's Society at an early date. The printers of Detroit issued their own journal, *The Rat Gazette,* on the occasion of a strike in 1839. A more formal trade union, established by the printers in 1848, served as the model for other groups. The iron molders organized on a similar basis in 1860, while the machinists and blacksmiths followed their example during the next year. The year 1864 marked the origin of three aggressive bodies; the Cigar Makers Union, the Carpenters Union, and the Operative Plasterers Union.

Much credit for this expansion should be given to Richard Trevellick, who was very active in enrolling workers in the various trade union units and whose plea for the support of labor activities reached large audiences. Trevellick was identified with the eight-hour day and other important national liberal movements. Throughout his career he was an excellent organizer, who maintained friendly relations with political leaders. Primarily through his influence, the Detroit Trades Assembly, the first central trade union body in Michigan, was formed in

1864. This organization had a particular appeal at the time, since wages during the Civil War usually did not keep pace with the increase in prices. The Assembly demanded both higher wages and a shorter working day. It achieved a membership of five thousand and was looked upon as a power in the city. It was no uncommon occurrence to find working men placed on the major political tickets without any active solicitation on their part. The Assembly began to decline in 1872, and the Panic of 1873 brought about its official death.

It was during this period of partial decadence in trade unionism that the Knights of Labor appeared. This society, founded at Philadelphia in 1869 by Uriah Stephens, emphasized the inclusion of all workers, trade union and otherwise, in one large Order. Although the original plans suggested a secret fraternal order, by 1881 the organization had abandoned this characteristic and was stressing coöperatives and policies of economic and social reform. The administrative character of the Knights of Labor gave considerable freedom of action to the primary, or cell, unit, the Local Assembly. Strikes were discouraged as weapons of action, but were not entirely prohibited.

The Knights of Labor reached Michigan in 1879, when Charles Litchman, a shoemaker from the East, came to Detroit for the purpose of encouraging members of his trade to join the organization. The scheduled meeting was not held, but Litchman enlisted the interest of several individuals, including Joseph Labadie, a printer with unusual literary talents, who became one of the outstanding champions of the labor cause. Within a very short period of time, Knights could be found in numerous localities. In 1886 the order claimed over 8,000 members, including some farmers. The increase in membership did not produce the results that had been predicted by optimists. Jealousies between trade union followers and proponents of industrial units resulted in dissensions; rural-urban rivalries caused constant friction. The few coöperative ventures were not successful. Quarrels among rival personalities produced factionalism. The failure of the organization to secure promised reforms, despite its large membership in the State Legislature, caused many to suggest the establishment of new labor bodies.

More fundamental as a source of friction was the issue of political action. One group desired to serve as the nucleus for a liberal third party and varying degrees of semi-official endorsement were given to the various third parties which flourished, successively, during the decade of the eighties. The Anti-Monopoly, Union Labor, United Labor, and other parties with a Greenback basis claimed the support of many Knights. The more conservative members of the organization frowned upon these affiliations, and controversies often ensued. These major dissensions resulted in a rapid decline in membership, and after 1889 any aggressive program was out of the question.

The contributions of the Knights, however, were many. The educational program, especially the emphasis upon social and economic questions, filled a necessary want. The labor press received its foundations from the various journals of the order. The organization served as a training-school for constructive labor efforts. Of importance, also, was the widespread distribution of Local Assemblies in towns too small to be reached effectively by trade unions. Much of the early State labor legislation should also be credited to the influence of the organization. The establishment of the Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics (forerunner of the Labor Department) was especially significant.

The activities of the Knights of Labor did not prevent other labor groups from functioning. Although the majority of trade union men were at one time or another affiliated with the Knights, the degree of sympathy for the organization was, in many respects, nominal. Many trade union people were frankly suspicious of an organization with the purposes of the Knights. Accordingly, new central city trade councils came into existence. Very typical is the story of the Detroit Council of Trades and Labor Unions, which was formed in 1880 and continued until 1906, when the name, following reorganization, was changed to the Detroit Federation of Labor. The Detroit Council was made up of representatives from each of the leading trade unions in Detroit. It took a very active interest in all problems affecting workers and, on certain occasions, endorsed candidates for political office.

One of the significant contributions of the Detroit Council of Trades and Labor Unions was to bring into existence the Michigan Federation of Labor, which identified the state with the American Federation of Labor. The dissatisfaction with the Knights had led to suggestions, in 1888, for new types of State organizations. In that year Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, which emphasized the craft basis of organization, spoke before large and enthusiastic Detroit audiences. The Detroit Council finally issued a call for a convention of trade delegates to form a federation which might effectively present the demands of Labor at the 1889 session of the State Legislature.

The convention, which met at Lansing in February, 1889, contained delegates from both central labor unions and trade unions. Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Muskegon, Flint, Battle Creek, Owosso, and Charlotte were represented. A leading spokesman emphasized the failure of "mixed" labor organizations, such as the Knights of Labor, and argued that varied interests could not be harmonized under a central labor government. He also reminded the delegates that no union would lose its influence or identity through affiliation with the State Federation. He further advocated a new vehicle in order to obtain progressive labor legislation. Organization plans were perfected and Labadie became the first president of the Michigan Federation of Labor.

The Michigan Federation worked in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor. The second annual convention endorsed the policy of formal affiliation with the national order. The State organization was very careful not to clash with the American Federation on technical matters, and occasionally even relinquished rights to avoid a possible conflict. In general, the Michigan Federation followed the policy encouraged by President Labadie, who said that the State group should confine its efforts to perfecting unions already existing and to aiding the American Federation in forming new ones. National programs sponsored by the American Federation of Labor usually received the endorsement of the State Federation. Local issues, however, were not neglected. Immediate attention was given to labor ills in the various sections of the State, and official boycotts were declared against both large and small concerns that were unfriendly. The Federation granted membership privileges with care, and suspensions for infractions of rules were not infrequent.

The opportunity for obtaining redress through legislative channels was not neglected. In 1896 the Federation could look with pride upon certain of its achievements. Although the movement for an eight-hour day had not been successful, ten hours were declared a legal day's work in the state. The Federation secured the passage of an act providing for more adequate inspection of factories. Further progress was made in the very complex question of the abolition of prison labor. Various laws relating to absenteeism, free text books, suppression of child labor, and similar problems were passed with the assistance of the Federation. Many questions, later to receive major attention, were presented or encouraged by the Federation during the early years of its existence. Municipal ownership, employment of prison labor on roads, and the submission of the question of woman suffrage to the people were among the issues discussed. The State's representatives at the national Capital were always kept well informed concerning the needs of labor.

Although the Michigan Federation of Labor had only a relatively small initial membership, the organization grew gradually and consistently. The care in selection, the insistence upon the carrying out of its general policies, and the program of discipline strengthened the organization.

The year 1896 can be regarded as a turning point in the history of labor. Populism, through fusion with the Democrats, lost its identity. Political action by labor was advocated only by the socialist groups. Hence trade unionism remained, with some few exceptions, as the sole spokesman for labor. Its normal policy towards politics was one of nonpartisanship, although endorsements were made on occasion.

Accordingly the labor movement in Michigan between 1896 and 1933 was less influential than it had previously been. While the number of workers in the State increased greatly between the two dates, the total number enrolled in labor organizations did not increase in like proportion. The leading cities had their trade federations, largely composed of craft workers. The American Federation of Labor made but few attempts to secure the affiliation of the thousands of workers in the growing automobile industry. The high wages paid in the new industry also discouraged unionism. Some efforts were made by the Detroit Trade Council in 1903-04 to enroll auto workers, but little progress was made. Another unsuccessful attempt was made in 1910. In 1916 an Auto Workers' Union (A.F.L.) was formed, but apparently fewer than five thousand desired affiliation. Thus the bulk of Michigan laborers remained unorganized. The unskilled workers in the lumbering and mining areas likewise were not reached by the American Federation of Labor.

Failure to include a majority of the unskilled workers should not suggest that the affiliated units of the American Federation of Labor were impotent. Numerous gains, often of a local character, were registered. Labor officially crusaded for many important measures that come under the heading of social legislation. One of the most outstanding achievements was the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1912, which, with later modifications, removed a fundamental cause of insecurity that labor had experienced for many decades by establishing mandatory schedules of compensation for deaths and disabilities resulting from occupational accidents.

Michigan workers, in general, displayed but little enthusiasm for the radical labor organizations. On many occasions the unskilled workers were appealed to by the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The goals of this body, which emphasized industrial unionism, were looked upon as too radical by the majority of laborers; and their semi-Marxian doctrines led to considerable opposition when their organizers appeared. Apparently a few auto workers did favor the I.W.W., and the organization was held responsible for the strike in the Detroit Studebaker Plant in 1913. The I.W.W. also organized some lumber workers near Cadillac at about the same time, but the transient nature of the industry resulted in failure. I.W.W. activities were discredited during World War I and the organization has since displayed little strength.

Beginning in 1909, many workers in the copper area of the Upper Peninsula affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, and when they attained a membership of 9,000, a strike was called in 1913. Major demands included requests for higher wages, the use of different types of equipment, and the recognition of the union. Considerable violence resulted from the strike, which did not end until 1914. The incident was significant, since it suggested trends among workers previously unidentified with unionism.

A new phase of labor history begins with the depression of the thirties. Despite the continued rapid increase in the number of workers in Michigan, especially during the years of World War I and the twenties, unionization made little gain over the previous period. The automobile and its related industries continued to pay wages that were comparatively high, and opportunity for advancement was rapid. This general prosperity in the automobile centers enabled many workers, with their savings, to enter other fields of activity.

A lack of previous experience with labor organizations also stayed the trend toward unionism. A large number of workers were from the rural regions; others came from the lumbering and mining districts, especially in Michigan. Another category consisted of immigrants who had not been affiliated with any of the active trade unions in the country.

The Panic of 1929 affected the automobile industry in an unusual manner, since the total annual hours of the workers had to be reduced drastically. It was possible for most of the other industries to give at least partial employment, but a large number of the automotive workers were entirely without employment. Many had purchased homes and had made other investments during the booming twenties. Thus, the average worker not only found himself unemployed, but faced the loss of his accumulated savings; while the lowering of a standard of living previously taken for granted, created a general feeling of insecurity.

Federal legislation of 1933 encouraged unionization of all fields of employment. The American Federation of Labor accordingly made an appeal to the automobile workers, as did the I.W.W., but the inroads of the latter were entirely negligible. Several independent unions made their appearance, and a brief period of labor instability followed.

A turning point came with the appearance of the United Automobile Workers (U.A.W.) in 1935, which stressed the organization of all grades of automobile workers on an industrial basis. In November, 1936, the U.A.W. called a sit-down strike in the Fisher Body Plant at Flint because of the dismissal of several men. The procedure introduced a new technique, since the workers took possession of the plant and refused to allow the officials of the company to enter; also, men who were anxious to labor were not allowed to resume operations. The discharged men were finally reinstated and the strike ended. Soon thereafter, workers in the Chevrolet Assembly Plant in Flint took possession of the factory and refused admittance to officials and workers. By Christmas, 1936, work in several plants of General Motors had ceased. The Company took the position that it could not afford to bargain with sit-down strikers until they were out of the plants and contended that the process was illegal and a trespass upon property. Governor Frank Murphy did not utilize state troops to eject the workers, as many demanded, for he insisted that the operation could not be carried out without bloodshed. Instead, he called a conference at Lansing between representatives of the company and the automobile workers union at which meeting an agreement was reached for the evacuation of the plants. However, the plants were only partially vacated. The judiciary was appealed to, and the Circuit Court decreed that the sit-down strike was illegal and the men were ordered to leave the factories. The union refused compliance with the writ of the court. Another conference was held, and General Motors agreed to recognize the U.A.W. as a collective bargaining agency for its members. A sit-down strike soon followed at the Chrysler plants. When the Company obtained an injunction commanding the strikers to surrender the plants to the owners, the workers refused to move. A temporary truce was voted and it was followed by an understanding between the corporation and the union which was regarded as a victory for the latter.

These strikes were undoubtedly the turning-point in the history of automotive unionization; the membership of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. (so-called because of its affiliation with the C.I.O.) increased rapidly and it became the sole representative of labor in many plants. In 1941 the Ford Motor Company agreed to accept the U.A.W.-C.I.O. as the bargaining agent of its many thousand employees.

Many observers in 1941 predicted that the U.A.W.-C.I.O. could not retain its standing among workers. During World War II, however, its membership increased rapidly because of the expansion in the fields where it was strongest, and its national membership was well above the million mark, making it the largest union in the United States. Since all labor accepted a no-strike pledge during the War, the only C.I.O. strikes were "wildcat" in character. Following the close of the war (1945) the U.A.W. successfully demanded wage increases that would approximate the overtime pay received during the preceding years.

The U.A.W. has been a militant organization, and its leadership has been recruited largely from Michigan members. It has been a very important influence in the C.I.O. It has entered political contests in various leading cities on different occasions, including three campaigns for mayor in Detroit. Although the last mentioned contests resulted in defeat, the U.A.W. has elected men to office in some of the smaller cities. The emphasis that the union assigns not only to wage increases, but also to problems of management, welfare activities, and educational programs has made it a source of strength.

Although the A.F.L. failed to capture the automotive industry, it nevertheless increased its activities in fields where it already had a nucleus of membership. The two groups combined now claim the loyalty of most of the workers in the State. Despite many evidences of harmonious action between the two, the A.F.L. adheres to policies which the C.I.O. regards as essentially conservative in character.

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CHAPTER 29

Population; Background and Religion

THE VARYING racial and religious backgrounds of the population have played a significant rôle in determining the development of Michigan.

Although the French were the first Europeans to come to Michigan, they were few in number and did not exert a large influence upon the later history of the State. There are, however, many Michigan place names of French origin and a considerable number of families that trace their ancestry back to the early French settlers.

The first major contributions to the institutional life of Michigan were made by the New England settlers. They arrived at a time when an American pattern was lacking in Michigan and thus found no difficulty in creating here the institutions with which they had been familiar. The township and the school district, in particular, are New England contributions. The general emphasis upon education and government served as a model for other institutions. Because the New Englanders had had previous experience in government they were able to undertake public office successfully. The general versatility and distribution of occupational background were also of importance. In any community settled by New Englanders there was a proper distribution of professional men, merchants, small manufacturers, and farmers. The lumbering industry was developed primarily by men with a New England background.

In an effort to hasten settlement the new State government early initiated a policy of attracting immigrants who had recently arrived from Europe. An agent was sent to New York City in 1845 with a supply of printed pamphlets giving detailed information about lands and public improvements and setting forth other attractions of the new State. The agent was also authorized to employ interpreters to meet individuals who did not understand the English language. The plan was abandoned only because an insufficient number of Europeans were attracted to the State. Nevertheless, by 1850 approximately forty-four per cent of the 21,000 residents of Detroit were foreign-born, including some 3,000 Irish, 2,500 Germans, and 1,750 English. Approximately thirty per cent of the population of the city was born in Michigan. Figures for the State reveal a population of 341,591 of whom 54,852 were foreign-born. Of these, 10,747 were born in England or Wales; 2,488 in Scotland; 13,430 in Ireland; 14,008 in British America; 10,260 in Germany; and 2,542 in Holland.[1]

In 1859 the Legislature authorized the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration and appropriated $2,500 for his maintenance. So successful were the activities of this official that suggestions were made for the employment of a resident agent in Europe. The Commissioner was successful in inducing 1,500 Germans to settle in the State in a two-year interval. Not until 1869, however, were representatives sent to Europe. In that year two agents were stationed at Frankfort, Germany.

Emphasis upon immigration attracted an increasing number of immigrants from Germany, Ireland, England, Canada, and Holland between 1850 and 1870. In 1870 the places of birth of the 1,184,059 people of Michigan were as follows:

Michigan	507,268	Indiana	12,140
New England States	41,398	New Jersey	8,033
New York	231,509	Illinois	6,055
Ohio	62,207	Wisconsin	5,986
Pennsylvania	28,507	Other States	12,946

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[1] *Compendium of the United States Census,* 1850.

British America	89,590	Poland	947
England	35,051	France	3,121
Ireland	42,013	Switzerland	2,116
Scotland	8,552	Bohemia	1,187
Prussia	28,660	Belgium	832
Other German States	35,483	Austria	795
Holland	12,559	Denmark	1,354
Sweden	2,406	Other Countries	1,158
Norway	1,516		

During the Panic of 1873, because there was less employment in Michigan, the New York Agency was closed and the European representative was recalled. Subsequently improved economic conditions led to a renewal of interest in the plan of attracting more Europeans to the State.

In 1883 Governor Begole was "satisfied that the office of Commissioner of Immigration is a success and justified its creation by the Legislature. It has not only secured a very large number of intelligent emigrants from other States, but its valuable array of facts and figures, wisely distributed about the State, is eminently calculated to convince our enterprising and ambitious young people that Michigan is undoubtedly the least desirable State in the Union from which to emigrate."[2] The Governor soon changed his mind, however. In 1885 he said that "after careful observation of its workings I am of the opinion that the Immigration Bureau should be abolished. The operations of the Bureau have, I think, been disastrous to our working men. The result of our advertising has been that our labor market has been overcrowded from abroad, and this, too, at a time when our laboring men were suffering from want of remunerative employment."[3] A majority of the citizens of Michigan apparently shared those sentiments, for two years later the Bureau was abolished and no active effort to encourage European immigration has since been made by the State government.

The restrictions imposed by the national government produced a marked decline of immigration from Europe after 1923. Physical proximity has facilitated the migration of many Canadians (both French- and English-speaking) to the State. Since 1923, Mexicans have come to Michigan in increasing numbers to find work in the sugar-beet industry and on the railroads. In 1940, when the total number of inhabitants of Michigan was 5,256,106, the foreign-born population had declined to 683,030 from the 849,297 figure of the previous census.[4]

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[2] *Messages of the Governors,* III, 504.

[3] *Messages of the Governors,* III, 504.

Although immigration to the State has generally not been a group undertaking, one of the exceptions was the coming of the Dutch to the western part of the Lower Peninsula. Led by their ministers they sought relief from religious restrictions and economic hardships by migration to new lands. Java, South Africa, and America were among the destinations considered, but some of their countrymen had already come to the eastern part of the United States and the favorable reports that they wrote home swayed the decision in favor of America.

The experiences encountered by the first shipload paralleled in some ways those of the earlier voyagers on the *Mayflower*. The leader of the migration was the Reverend Albertus Van Raalte, who, with his family and fifty-three others, set sail from

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[4] This population was from the following countries:

Canada	158,416
Poland	96,826
Germany	59,783
England	47,728
Italy	40,631
Scotland	27,306
Wales	1,371
Northern Ireland	3,601
Irish Free State	8,905
Norway	5,345
Sweden	17,346
Denmark	5,441
Netherlands	24,722
Belgium	11,346
Luxemburg	289
Switzerland	2,116
France	3,364
Czechoslovakia	12,725
Austria	17,918
Hungary	20,593
Yugoslavia	12,517
Russia	32,229
Lithuania	8,403
Latvia	697
Finland	21,151
Rumania	8,476
Bulgaria	1,425
Turkey in Europe	85
Greece	8,989
Spain	840
Portugal	97
Elsewhere in Europe	2,895
Palestine and Syria	4,913
Turkey in Asia	4,330
Other countries in Asia	3,145
Newfoundland	832
Mexico	3,694
Cuba and other West Indies	333
Central and South America	729
Australia	406
Azores	7
All others and not reported	770
Canada French	20,681
Canada other	137,735

Rotterdam in September, 1846. Most immigrants to America at that time traveled in the steerage and furnished their own food. After a voyage of seven weeks, marked by sickness and death, the party reached New York in November, 1846, where they were met by fellow countrymen who assisted them on their way. The party went by Hudson River boat to Albany and from there by railroad to Buffalo, where they embarked on a lake vessel. The exhaustion of their funds and the arrival of winter caused them to seek work at Detroit, instead of going onward.

Here Van Raalte met some of the prominent men of the city and others from out of the State who were attending the session of the Legislature. These men became interested in his colonization plan and aided him with information and advice which resulted in his directing his attention to western Michigan.

Van Raalte proceeded to purchase land from the government, and some of his people in Detroit started at once for their new destination. On February 9, 1847, leaving their families at Allegan, six men and one woman started by sleigh for the site of the proposed settlement near the head of Black Lake. The region was heavily wooded and at that season was covered with snow. There were two white families already in the vicinity, and the newcomers ate and slept in their cabins for two weeks while erecting cabins of their own. The remainder of their company soon followed from Allegan.

The hard labor, the meager food, and the other hardships of the cold winter need not be described here. Others of their countrymen came on in the spring from Detroit and elsewhere; more ships arrived from the Old World; and the colony grew rapidly. It soon overflowed the first settlement, which was called Holland, and several others were located nearby and given such old country names as Zeeland, Groningen, Over Yssel, Graffschap, Friesland, and Drenthe.

Scarcely had the settlers built their log cabins and a log church before they started a school for their children. Both in religious matters and in secular affairs the church council, with the minister as leader, was the local governing body. In business affairs as well as social relations, it exercised complete authority.

The leaders of the colony desired that their people should settle together and preserve their native language, customs, and religion, yet at the same time they wished to become good American citizens. Although their descendants are now widely scattered in many areas, they still constitute the predominant element in several West Michigan counties.

The Central Europeans contributed another large and important element to the foreign-born population of Michigan. A Moravian Indian mission, New Gnadenhutten, near the present Mount Clemens, was established by David Zeisberger (a Czech) in 1782. The first considerable settlement of Germans was in Washtenaw County. Detroit and Wayne County have had a large German population both Catholic, and Protestant, from the early days of immigration. Some of the first immigrants remained in the city only long enough to earn sufficient money to buy farms in the interior of the State.

An important early German Catholic settlement was made at Westphalia in present Clinton County about 1840, where an attempt was made at first to organize a community project for purposes of mutual helpfulness and to maintain the native customs, language, and religion. Another highly successful German community corporation was founded by Lutherans at Frankenmuth in Saginaw County in 1845.

After the failure of the revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848-49 many young Germans of education and ability came to the United States, and Michigan was fortunate in receiving a considerable number of them. These liberals were opposed to slavery. Many of them joined the new Republican party, and they furnished numerous soldiers for the Union armies in the Civil War.

About 1850, Saginaw began a substantial growth due largely to an influx of Germans. German settlers began to arrive in Sebewaing in 1849-50 when a group of families and young people went from Washtenaw County to that village.

The coming of the Germans led to the formation of many societies that perpetuated their Old World customs and attitudes.

The Socialer Turnverein of Detroit was started in 1853. Its members held very liberal views on social and political problems. Organizations of a similar character were founded in other cities with a large German population.

Since 1900 the number of German-born persons in the State has declined substantially although the total number with some German background is probably increasing. It has been estimated that approximately eighteen per cent of the total population of the State in 1930 was of German origin. The Germans in Michigan have contributed much to the development of business, agriculture, manufacturing, the professions, and the arts (especially music).

Enough Irish were in Detroit in 1806 to have a city-wide celebration of St. Patrick's Day. Large-scale Irish immigration, however, came during the late forties and fifties when political and economic conditions in the mother land were such that thousands of Irishmen migrated to the United States, and Michigan received a considerable number of them. Although many Irish immigrants located in Detroit, others, even before the Civil War, found their way to the towns in the southern tier of counties. The "Irish Hills" section in Lenawee County received its name from Irish settlers of the forties and fifties.

At least one Italian, an army officer, came to Michigan with Cadillac, but as late as 1855 there were only about a dozen Italians in Detroit. The period of rapid Italian immigration to the State began in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when political and economic conditions in the mother land, as well as the more adequate transportation facilities, induced a large number of Italians to make their homes in the New World. Italians are found both in Detroit and in the small towns in many parts of the State. Few, however, have become farmers.

Polish families were settled in Detroit and in scattered rural communities before the Civil War. A considerable increase, which was divided between Detroit and the rest of the State, was observable after 1882. Many found employment in the lumber mills, and others were attracted immediately to the land. After

1910 most of the Polish migration was directed toward the Detroit metropolitan area, and by 1930 it was estimated that approximately 300,000 persons of Polish background were in Detroit and its suburbs.

Scandinavians (of whom the Norwegians were the first) were originally attracted to Michigan because of the opportunity to continue in some skilled occupation that they had acquired in the Old World. An unusually large number were attracted to mining and lumbering areas and others secured positions as seamen and officers on the boats of the Great Lakes. Late in the nineteenth century many agricultural settlers appeared and bought land in various parts of the Lower Peninsula. The largest of the Scandinavian groups is the Swedish, who founded communities in Kent and Muskegon counties before the Civil War. The Swedish people are numerous throughout the entire western portion of the State. Danish immigration has been confined largely to the rural portions of western Michigan. Assimilation of all the Scandinavian groups has been very rapid.

The Finns first made their appearance in Michigan in 1864 and immediately secured employment in the mines of the northern Peninsula. The initial settlement was followed by a large immigration from Finland to the mining areas between 1870 and 1873. Many of the Finns purchased farms after a brief period of service with the mining companies. Very few Finnish settlers are to be found in the Lower Peninsula, except in Detroit. The Upper Peninsula, on the contrary, has become the cultural center of all the Finnish people of the United States. Suomi College, the only Finnish institution of higher education in America, was established at Hancock in 1896. The leading Finnish newspapers are published in Upper Peninsula cities. The Finns have emphasized coöperatives and other institutions transplanted from their home land.

The English-born have always constituted an important element in Michigan population. With the exception of the Cornish miners who migrated to the Upper Peninsula during the latter half of the nineteenth century and a few Welsh communities, the British have never formed distinct settlements.

The large English-speaking Canadian population has likewise never constituted a separate group. The French-Canadians have been numerous, but they usually had some familiarity with the English language and institutions.

The majority of the other groups noticeable in the 1940 census did not appear in large numbers until after 1900. Usually they were attracted to Detroit and other large cities where employment could easily be secured in the automobile industry. Not all immigration has been direct to Michigan; rather Michigan has offered security to the immigrant who was not sufficiently well-adjusted in some previous home within the United States.

The religious background of the population is another important factor in determining the character of the state. Michigan's religious history differs from that of many western states, since for the first sixty years its settlers were all Catholics. Ste Anne's, of Detroit, has the second oldest continuous Catholic parish register in the United States. When American rule was established here, Ste Anne's could no longer be included within a Canadian diocese and in 1798 it was attached to the Diocese of Baltimore. This was very significant since the change in church administration tended to emphasize the importance of their new American allegiance to the French-speaking inhabitants.

An outstanding religious and cultural leader of the Territorial period was Father Gabriel Richard. From the time of his arrival in the Territory in 1798, this French-born priest tried both as priest and educator to uplift the community. He owned many books, some of which are still preserved. He established private schools and dreamed of the founding of a public library. He brought to Michigan the first press of which we have any definite knowledge, and on it printed school books, church hymnals, and at least one issue of Michigan's first newspaper. He was a co-founder of the Univerisity of Michigan, and served in the twenties as the Territory's delegate in Congress.

Michigan was brought under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky in 1808 and under that of Cincinnati in 1821. In 1833 the Territory had a Catholic population sufficiently large (approximately 7,000) to warrant the establishment of a separate diocese.

Most of the Catholics at that time were of French descent, but a small minority was Irish in background. Undoubtedly, the presence of Catholic churches in Michigan explains, in part at least, the later migration of Catholics of various linguistic and racial backgrounds to Michigan. This factor was especially important in attracting the German Catholics. The Catholic population of Michigan was not confined to the large cities alone, for numerous towns in the State had Catholic churches even before 1860. The growth of the Catholic population has accompanied urbanization. Detroit became an archdiocese in 1937. The diocese of Grand Rapids was established in 1882; Marquette, 1865; Lansing, 1937; and Saginaw, 1938. In 1946 the Detroit Archbishop, Edward Mooney, brought further recognition to Michigan Catholicism by his appointment as Cardinal.

Although the influence of Catholicism can be observed in many fields, two are of especial significance; education and charities. Father Richard's pioneer educational efforts mark the beginnings of an emphasis that came to include parochial schools in the majority of Catholic communities, and a number of collegiate institutions. St. Mary's Hospital in Detroit, founded by the Daughters of Charity in 1846 at the request of Bishop Peter LeFevre, was the first of the many charitable agencies established by Catholics.

Protestantism was slow in establishing itself in Michigan. A Church of England preacher was in the Territory, for a time, about 1786. The Methodists were probably the first Protestant denomination to begin religious work after the departure of the Moravians. A Methodist minister preached in Detroit as early as 1801, and several years later circuit riders appeared in various localities. These men rode from settlement to settlement over difficult roads or trails, fording dangerous streams, sometimes sleeping out at night, and preaching the Gospel wherever a handful of people could be found to listen to their message. They brought the news of the outside world to the scattered settlements and lonesome cabins, affording social cheer as well as the way of salvation.

A Methodist church was founded at River Rouge as early as 1810. The Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was established by the General Conference of that denomination in 1836. Its growth was so rapid that the Detroit Conference, comprising the churches of the eastern half of the Lower Peninsula and all of the northern Peninsula, was formed in 1856.

The Wesleyan Methodists, who seceded from the larger group because they were more radical abolitionists (1841-42); the Protestant Methodists, who disagree with the Methodist Episcopal Church in matters of church government; and the Free Methodists, who differ somewhat in doctrine, all have many members in Michigan.

The four Oakland County Baptist Churches formed the Michigan Baptist Association in 1827. The State Baptist Convention was organized in 1836 when there were fifty-two Baptist congregations with a membership of about 2,000.

In 1827 the ministers of Presbyterian churches at Detroit, Farmington, Pontiac, Monroe, and Mackinac organized the Presbytery of Detroit. The Synod of Michigan was established in 1837. The Presbyterians exerted a rather strong influence in educational affairs in Michigan in early years, especially at the University.

Organized Congregationalism in Michigan dates back to 1842. It has been a strong influence for democratizing government and broadening religious thought. It has been prominent also in higher education. Among its members have been such leaders as "Father" Shepherd, who founded Olivet College; John D. Pierce, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction; and President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan.

Heinrich Mann, a German Lutheran who had settled at Ann Arbor, wrote to the Basle Mission Society of Switzerland in 1833 asking for a missionary for the Germans around Ann Arbor. Pastor Frederick Schmid was sent out and labored for the Lutheran Church for more than fifty years, organizing two churches in Ann Arbor, fifteen in Washtenaw County, and many others about the State. The first Lutheran synod conference was established in 1840. This step marked the beginning of a vigorous development, which included a program for the establishment of a parochial school system.

Episcopalianism in Detroit is the offspring of the older Episcopal churches across the river. The parish of St. Paul's was organized in Detroit in 1824. The Reverend Richard F. Cadle was the first rector, with a salary of $150 paid by the congregation and a like amount from the missionary board. In 1837 the first Episcopal Church building was erected in Detroit. Several parishes were incorporated in other cities during the Territorial period.

Among the denominations with a large Michigan following in relationship to total membership is the Seventh Day Adventist sect which originated in the great Advent movement of 1840-44. Because they frowned upon the use of drugs, the Adventists founded a Health Reform Institute at Battle Creek in 1867. Ten years later a sanitarium building was erected. Dr. J. H. Kellogg, a man of character and ability, was placed at the head of the Institute, which attracted many people of prominence from all over the United States.

The early churches were important social centers and often they were the only medium for community assemblage. Church conferences enabled representatives of each congregation to meet with others of the same faith. The sessions were effective in promoting antislavery, temperance, and other social crusades, and their work was usually furthered in each community by the delegates in attendance. The church press was also a power in furthering various reform causes.

Among the Jewish congregations of Detroit, Temple Beth-El, incorporated in 1851, and the Shaarey Zedek Jewish Society, organized in 1861, are the oldest. The former represents the more liberal element and the latter the more orthodox group of

Judaism. There are several other important congregations in Detroit, and synagogues in various cities of the State.

Virtually all of the religious sects found in the United States in 1860 were represented in Michigan. The denominations more unorthodox in doctrine, often aroused local disapproval, but active hostility seems to have been shown only towards those whose social teachings represented a departure from established practices. Resentment against a small Mormon group in Oakland County during the forties reflected hostility to social and economic procedures rather than doctrine. The opposition to the Mormon Colony at Beaver Island founded by James Strang in 1847 was primarily an expression of a similar sentiment.

Gradually, since the Civil War, the majority of the Protestant sects have given less emphasis to minor distinctions based upon doctrine. As a result, mergers have not been uncommon. A few cities have nondenominational churches. Indicative of another trend is the Detroit Council of Churches, whose membership includes many Protestant and Jewish congregations. Interdenominational activities have been encouraged through such organizations as the Young's Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association.

Social consciousness is reflected in the numerous denominational homes for orphans and the aged. Unusual social services are performed by the Salvation Army, which commenced its activities in Michigan at Grand Rapids in 1883. Although its practices were ridiculed and the personnel sometimes molested, the unselfish work of the organization in serving the urban underprivileged and needy was recognized. The army is only one of many contemporary church organizations interested in social welfare.

Nearly every important religious denomination in the world is represented in Michigan. An unusual feature is the presence of a variety of denominations in some of the smaller cities of Michigan, a result of the very heterogeneous background of the settlers. By 1940 there were 1,400 religious organizations, representing approximately ninety different denominations, in the Detroit metropolitan area alone.

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CHAPTER 30

Education

THE ESTABLISHMENT of schools and the encouragement of education were enjoined upon the inhabitants of the future Old Northwest by the Ordinance of 1787, and the people of Michigan are justly proud of the way in which they have observed the injunction. In 1946 the educational system included 1,000 public high schools, 6,800 public elementary schools, and 465 parochial schools. In several important respects Michigan has pioneered the way for educational developments which have since spread widely throughout the nation. Here was established the first state Agricultural College, the first state-supported Normal College, and the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Significant, also, of the State's educational pioneering is the fact that publication of the first journal of education in America was begun at Detroit in the spring of 1838, only fourteen months after the achievement of statehood.

In a new society, however, institutions are the product of growth and our highly developed present-day educational establishment marks a great advance over its pioneer beginnings. In the earlier decades such schools as were established were relatively simple and were almost wholly the product of local control and initiative. The increasing scope and diversity of educational institutions were accompanied by a greater degree of state control and support and by the time of the Civil War the outlines of our present educational system had been established.

The foundation of financial support is the State primary school fund, which is apportioned to school districts on the basis of pupil enrollment. The fund includes interest by the State upon sums derived from the sale of lands which the Federal government had granted for the support of education, from taxes levied upon public transportation utilities, and from inheritance taxes. Since 1933 the assistance given to school districts by the State has been substantially increased, and the revenue derived from the primary school fund has been supplemented by appropriations of income derived from the State Sales Tax and other sources of revenue.

Hand in hand with the increasing financial assistance has gone a significant trend toward compulsory education. Several decades passed before there was recognition of the principle that free public education was inadequate until it was made compulsory. The first legislation on the subject was enacted in 1871. A measure of 1883, amended two years later, increased the required time of pupil attendance to four months in each year. Included in the act was a provision prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age unless they had attended school during the required four months. From this time onward, the compulsory school laws were modified until, by 1921, consecutive attendance to the age of sixteen (unless the child had completed the eighth grade or lived in a district which did not provide adequate facilities for doing so) became mandatory.

Emphasis upon more efficient school administration has been another outstanding characteristic of Michigan education. Dissatisfaction with the initial system was expressed as early as 1841. Three years later a number of township districts were organized, following legislation creating this unit. The rural school law of 1917 permitted the organization of school districts along community lines; it authorized community high schools; it provided State aid for transportation of students; and in numerous other respects encouraged greater educational opportunities for rural children.

Improvement in school administration has been materially facilitated by the County Commissioner of Schools. The early school laws granted local inspectors almost exclusive powers over education, including setting the standards for teachers, which powers were later assumed by the State. In 1867 a law was passed providing for County Superintendents of Schools, and the supervision of schools and the certification of teachers were placed under their direction. The law was subsequently repealed, and though many counties retained the office, it was not until 1891 that the office (known as the County Commissioner) was revived on a mandatory basis. The County Superintendent has exercised extensive supervisory authority over rural schools. The emphasis gradually shifted to State supervision, however, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, acting in accordance with authority granted him by the State Board of Education, has come to enjoy greater jurisdiction. The present law provides for a State Board of Education composed of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and three elected members. It has extensive supervisory authority which is usually assigned to the Superintendent. It also has jurisdiction over the property of the State colleges of education and it authorizes the specific expenditure of funds appropriated by the Legislature for their support. The appointment of presidents and faculties of these colleges is also subject to its jurisdiction and it has sole authority over the certification of teachers.

Secondary education has undergone a marked development in Michigan. It was originally assumed that colleges and academies would offer the necessary secondary instruction. This aim is evidenced in the establishment, during the period of early statehood, of branch schools by the University. The abandonment of the branches left many towns without adequate school facilities, and a law of 1859 authorized voters in town school districts to establish high schools and levy a tax for their support.[1] The utility of this form of instruction was questioned by many. Although several cities, including Detroit, immediately took advantage of the law, the value of secondary instruction was not universally conceded. Several years later it was given an unusual stimulus through the so-called Kalamazoo Decision, rendered by Justice Thomas M. Cooley of the Michigan Supreme Court in 1874. Justice Cooley upheld the right of the School Board to use primary school money for high school purposes. A large number of high schools were organized, even in the smaller towns, since their support was no longer borne entirely by the local community.

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[1] The union school, established in several towns prior to 1859, was the forerunner of the high school.

It was in the high school that the first departures from the traditional forms of instruction were made. Bay City introduced training in the manual arts as early as 1891, and other cities rapidly followed this example. The course of study in manual arts in the modern high school came to include instruction in various forms of mechanics. For girls the domestic science training included instruction in cooking, sewing, and home decorating. Courses in fine arts also found their way into the high schools during the early years of the century.

The growth of cities, with their large foreign-born populations, called public attention to the need for evening schools and special courses for adults. The progress made in courses in Americanization help to explain the high rate of literacy in Michigan. The school building, ultimately designed as a community center, has often become the important focal point of civic endeavor.

Michigan teachers have long taken pride in their professional attitude. A State Teachers' Association was organized as early as 1852. High school teachers and administrators profited greatly from the Michigan School Master's Club, which was founded at Ann Arbor in 1886. Among the charter members was John Dewey, the famous American philosopher, who at that time was a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan.

The University of Michigan also experienced a steady increase in enrollment and an expansion in facilities. A period of unusual expansion began with the Presidency of James B. Angell in 1871. When he came to Ann Arbor he found on the campus the two original halls, the old law building, the medical building, a small chemistry laboratory, and four homes for the professors. The faculty numbered thirty-five, of whom twenty-three were in the literary department. The total student enrollment was approximately 1,100. The emphasis upon education as a preparation for life and service to the State given by President Angell met with the hearty approval of the Legislature, which was liberal in its appropriations.

Although all of Angell's successors were men with enviable reputations, the administrations of Dr. Marion Leroy Burton (1920-25) and Dr. Alexander Ruthven (1928-) were characterized by unusual financial generosity to the University and an accompanying enlargement of facilities. The establishment of professional schools and the high standards maintained by them has brought the University wide-spread recognition. Instruction in engineering was begun in 1853, although degrees were not granted until 1860. The first suggestion for a Dental College came in 1865 and was further emphasized by a memorial from the State Dental Association eight years later. The school began formal instruction in 1876. Courses in architecture were given in 1875, but the College was not formally established until 1913. A school of Business Administration was established in 1924, and the School of Forestry and Conservation followed three years later. Graduate work was emphasized at an early time, but no separate Graduate School was formally designated until 1891.

Liberal policies toward student admissions have always characterized the University. It was among the first American institutions of higher education to permit co-education. In 1867 the Legislature passed a resolution recommending the admission of women, and the University administration took steps to carry out this mandate. Madelon Stockwell of Kalamazoo was the first girl to enroll at the University, in 1870. More women were admitted the following year, and the prejudice against their presence gradually diminished until, before the close of the century, the University administration noted with approval the increasing emphasis upon education for women. In 1871, a plan was adopted for inspecting State high schools and admitting their graduates to the University without further examination. This step marked a departure from prevailing practices among most institutions of higher learning. The success of the policy at Michigan led to its adoption by many leading universities.

The University is especially proud of its libraries. Prior to 1856 there was no separate Library Building, and books were moved about as convenience dictated. In that year, however, one wing of University Hall was set aside as a Library. This step marked the modest beginning of a program which culminated in the construction of the present edifice, in 1916, with a capacity for one million volumes and facilities for one thousand students in the reading rooms. The William L. Clements Library, including both the building and the books, was a present to the University from Regent William L. Clements of Bay City. It contains one of the world's great collections of early Americana. The buildings which compose the magnificent Law Quadrangle were given to the University by an alumnus, William Cook. The University could not have achieved its present standing as one of the world's prominent educational centers without the generous appropriations made by the State. Beginning in 1869, it received an income derived largely from the State propery tax, based upon a formula by which the University was allowed a certain number of mills per one hundred dollars of assessed valuation. In 1933, when the property tax was abandoned, the Legislature granted the University a portion of the revenue derived from the State Sales tax.

In addition to the University, the State very early established an agricultural college, the oldest in the nation and the forerunner of the present Michigan State College at East Lansing. In 1849 the executive committee of the State Agricultural Society memorialized the Legislature for the establishment of an agricultural school and a model farm. Because of this request, instruction in agriculture was given at the University of Michigan, but there was considerable dissatisfaction with this arrangement. Accordingly, a site for a separate school was selected in the vicinity of Lansing, where instruction was begun in 1857. The College administration is under the direction of the State Board of Agriculture, whose members are chosen by popular election. Originally the school (known as the Michigan Agricultural College) was supported entirely by legislative appropriations. In 1862, however, an act of Congress, commonly known as the Morrill Act, granted 240,000 acres of public land to Michigan for the endowment of an agricultural and mechanical school. The proceeds from the sale of these lands were to constitute a trust fund, whose interest could be used for maintaining the college. Despite this new source of income the school has always been primarily dependent upon legislative appropriations.

The Michigan Agricultural College gradually enlarged its curriculm. Engineering, veterinary, home economics, and other professional departments were added. From the beginning, courses in English, History, Modern Languages, Economics, and Philosophy were among the requirements in the vocational curricula. Since the early 1920's students have been able to major in any of the arts or sciences. In 1925 the name was changed to the Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences. The following year witnessed the addition of programs in medical biology and physical education. Other curricula were rapidly added, including a course in Police Administration which was authorized in 1935. Michigan State College, which now boasts an unusually beautiful campus containing gardens, barns, laboratories, athletic fields, recitation buildings, and dormitories, has gradually emerged as a second State University.

Michigan is the only state east of the Mississippi which maintains a College of Mines. As early as 1867, the Legislature had been urged to establish such an institution, but opposition to the project prevented favorable action. Finally, in 1885 the Legislature authorized the establishment of a mining school which was located at Houghton, a major center of the copper region of Lake Superior. Apparently, it was assumed that the school would be instrumental in developing the mineral resources of the northern country (otherwise, the organized opposition might have prevented its establishment). A very gradual enlargement of the curriculum has followed since the opening of the College in 1886. By 1927 the course of instruction had outgrown the original pattern, and the name of the school was changed to the Michigan College of Mining and Technology. In 1941 it had a campus of 42 acres and a faculty of 77, with a large number of research assistants. Its entire plant was valued at two and one-half million dollars. Its departments of instruction were Chemistry, Chemical Engineering, Political Science, Modern Business, and Metallurgical and Geological Engineering.

Michigan has also liberally supported her teacher training schools, which gradually have become transformed into state colleges. The success of the Michigan Normal School at Ypsilanti led to the establishment of three additional schools of education. The first was at Mt. Pleasant; and as its name, Central Normal, suggests, it was established primarily to serve the central portion of the State. The school had its origin in a business institute which, because of financial reverses, was abandoned. The citizens of Mt. Pleasant petitioned the State to operate the school as a normal college and the Legislature, in 1895, sanctioned this proposal. The third teacher training school was established at Marquette in 1899 to serve the needs of the Upper Peninsula and was named the Northern Michigan State Normal School. The people of Marquette donated land for the campus and they have subsequently made additional gifts to the college, which is the chief source of teacher supply for the schools of the northern area. The Western State Teachers' College at Kalamazoo was authorized by the Legislature in 1903 and began instruction the following year.

All of the teacher training schools became formal State Colleges in 1931, although courses in education continued to receive the chief emphasis. Their student bodies included a large number of pre-medical, pre-dental, and pre-law students. Some graduate work has also been offered by these schools.

Collegiate education has made great progress in the cities. The first junior college legislation in Michigan permited municipalities having a population of 50,000 or over to establish colleges offering two years of undergraduate work. Later amendments reduced the population requirement to 14,000. Grand Rapids, Flint, Bay City, Port Huron, Muskegon, Highland Park, Jackson, and Ironwood are among the cities that have taken advantage of this legislation to establish junior colleges which are subject to a degree of supervision by the University of Michigan.

Detroit is the only city in the state which maintains a municipal university. Wayne University is the outgrowth of the merger of several separate colleges maintained by the Detroit Board of Education. Although the university did not come into official existence until 1933 (the name Wayne was given to it during the following year) , some of its colleges had already enjoyed a lengthy history. The origin of its Medical School can be traced to 1868; its College of Education is the successor to the normal school established by the city in 1881. The Liberal Arts College is the outgrowth of post-graduate high school training offered at the Detroit Central High School in 1915. The popularity of this program led to the establishment of the Junior College in 1917. Six years later, with State authorization, the Junior College became a four-year collegiate degree-granting institution. The need for greater integration among these various city-operated colleges brought about the organization of the University, which now includes several professional schools in addition to those already mentioned. Wayne University is one expression of the enlargement of democratic civic consciousness in Detroit.

Because of the facilities afforded by the many State schools, sectarian colleges are less numerous in Michigan than in many other states. The denominational school is largely the product of the notion, especially prevalent during the late Territorial and early statehood eras, that higher education should emphasize specific religious ideals. It was also assumed that the sectarian schools would train clergymen. Many citizens believed that the University was irreligious.

John Pierce (a Congregational minister), the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction, opposed the chartering of religious colleges, since he believed that their existence interfered with the State plan of education. His successors did not share this view, however, and the long struggle over allowing denominational schools to award degrees ended in 1855 with the passage of the General School Law which enabled chartered colleges to grant degrees, provided their instruction was as thorough as that given at the State University.

The oldest of the denominational colleges is Kalamazoo, which was chartered as a school in 1833, largely through the persistence of Rev. Thomas Merrill, a Baptist Missionary from New England, who had originally begun his teaching in Ann Arbor in 1828. Kalamazoo was the forerunner of a large number of denominational colleges including: Hope College in Holland (Reformed Dutch Church), Hillsdale College in Hillsdale (Free Will Baptist), Olivet College in Olivet (Congregational), Adrian College in Adrian (Methodist Episcopal), Albion College in Albion (Methodist Episcopal), Alma College in Alma (Presbyterian), Nazareth Academy in Nazareth (Roman Catholic), St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake (Roman Catholic), Suomi College in Hancock (Lutheran), Marygrove College in Detroit (Roman Catholic), University of Detroit in Detroit (Roman Catholic), Calvin College in Grand Rapids (Christian Reformed), and Emmanuel Missionary College in Berrien Springs (Seventh-Day Adventist).[2]

Although the enrollment at the majority of these schools has not been large, they have continued to emphasize the traditions of liberal arts. From their campuses have come many of the leaders of the State. Their liberal and scientific contributions also attest to their vitality.

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[2] Some of the schools were originally located at other towns. In a few instances the basis of denominational control has been shifted.

Some of the private schools of a nonsectarian character have also won an enviable reputation. The Cleary Business College at Ypsilanti has maintained unusually high standards for its graduates. The Ferris Institute, established by former Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris at Big Rapids, served the unusual purpose of accelerated education for adults. Its program of instruction also included divisions in Pharmacy and Education. After the death of its founder, the Institute became a formal liberal arts college. The Detroit Institute of Technology (operated by the Y.M.C.A.) and the Lawrence Institute of Technology, also of Detroit, are among the accredited collegiate institutions privately operated.

The advancement of library service has been closely identified with the development of education, and both functions came to be recognized as public in character. Most libraries established during the first half of the last century were private subscription libraries, supported by dues from individuals who had the privilege of using the books available. This plan, obviously, barred the great mass of citizens from using them. The first free libraries were school libraries, since school districts maintained their own libraries as authorized in the Constitution of 1835. Except in a few cities, this type of service was inadequate. Later legislation authorized township libraries, but usually these were little more than enlarged school libraries.

In 1863 Detroit established a district library which technically was a school library. This venture proved so successful that it came to receive separate support, and in reality was a city library. It gradually absorbed other libraries including that established by the Detroit Young Men's Society in 1832. Several municipalities followed the Detroit example, but many of the libraries founded during the late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century were established by private contributions. Peter White, a wealthy lumberman, gave $5,000 to Marquette for library construction in 1872. Over sixty libraries were founded by assistance from the Carnegie Fund, which had been established by Andrew Carnegie, a wealthy Pittsburgh steel manufacturer, to enable cities without library facilities to develop their own units. The city or village library has recently come to be accepted as a public institution, and receives its basic income from local taxes. A State Board for libraries was authorized in 1937 and the same act made possible some State aid for libraries.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES: Chapter 30

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CHAPTER 31

Culture

The cultural pattern of America had assumed a national character before the tide of western migration swept over Michigan. The frontier people had no leisure class nor any accumulated store of capital, and the simple problem of maintaining physical existence left the settler but slight inclination or energy to devote to high thinking. The contacts that he maintained with his eastern homeland justified his dependence upon the culture of the old region and curbed his creative imagination. The raw material for the development of a native literature was present in almost endless abundance, but the pioneer, engrossed with the struggle to create a home and to lay the foundations of a new society, lacked both the perspective and the skill to make use of them. In 1846 the chance gift of an eagle feather from Lake Superior inspired Whittier to write his poem, "On Receiving an Eagle's Quill from Lake Superior" whose verses aptly characterized the current situation.[1]

> I hear the mattack in the mine,
> The axe-stroke in the dell,
> The clamor from the Indian lodge,
> The Jesuit chapel bell!

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[1] *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Cambridge edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1894, p. 145.

I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be;
The first low wash of waves, where soon
Shall roll a human sea.

The feather came from pioneer Michigan, but the poetic genius which immortalized it was the product of two-century-old Massachusetts. Nor has Michigan even yet produced any literary figure of the first magnitude, nor any distinctive literary group such as certain other areas have done. A number of excellent books about life in Michigan have been written, however, and a number of writers and scholars of national prominence have lived in the State.

Easily the foremost promoter of cultural activities in the first half of the nineteenth century was Governor Lewis Cass. Although his own formal schooling was limited, he had a thirst for knowledge. By the exercise of his official and personal influence, he drew a group of younger men to Michigan and set them to work investigating such subjects as the languages and folklore of the native Indian tribes. Much of this work, unfortunately, remained unpublished and, with the passage of time, was lost to posterity. Illustrative of its character is the fact that the University of Michigan has published in recent years the researches of Charles C. Trowbridge upon the folklore of the Miami tribe. Trowbridge and Cass were instrumental in supplying Francis Parkman much information for his *Conspiracy of Pontiac,* a contribution never sufficiently acknowledged or recognized.

Most brilliant of Cass's protégés were Douglass Houghton and Henry R. Schoolcraft, both gifts of New York to the State of Michigan. Houghton is chiefly remembered for his contribution to the study of the geology of Michigan and the Northwest. Schoolcraft, who served for many years as Indian Agent at Sault Ste Marie and Mackinac, was an all-around scholar, geologist, mineralogist, explorer, and historian. His most important work was the fruit of his long study of the Indian life and lore of the Great Lakes region, for the study of which he enjoyed an unrivaled opportunity. Among his many geographical and other published works the background of his *Algic Researches,* from which Henry W. Longfellow drew both his inspiration and his data for the poem *Hiawatha,* is the Lake Superior Chippewa.

A writer whose work about pioneer Michigan constitutes a partial exception to some of the earlier remarks was Mrs. Caroline Kirkland. She settled in the forested area of southern Michigan and depicted the life and surroundings of the frontier she shared. Three successful novels of hers were *A New Home, Forest Life,* and *Western Clearings.* But the frontier life proved too strenuous for the cultured eastern woman, and she presently abandoned it to conduct a select school in the relatively more sophisticated atmosphere of Detroit.

James Fenimore Cooper, although never a resident of Michigan, made it the locale of one of his numerous novels, *Oak Openings.* Simon Pokagon, an educated Potawotomi of southwestern Michigan, in the later nineteenth century wrote *Queen of the Woods* and other Indian tales with the hope of bringing about a better understanding of his race in the minds of the white men.

Eugene Thwing's *The Red-Keggers,* Stewart Edward White's *River Man* and *The Blazed Trail,* and the novel *Timber* by Harold Titus have lumbering activities in the State as a setting. Farm life is well depicted in John Frederick's *Green Bush* and G. D. Eaton's *Backfurrow.* The latter is an outspoken and frank criticism both of manners and morals in rural life. *God Head* by Leonard Cline is a novel which portrays life in the Finnish community in the Upper Peninsula. Vera Lebedeff's *Heart Returneth* deals with the Russian community in Detroit. *Vandameer's Road* by John Humphreys is a psychological novel which has the Grand Rapids area as its locale.

Historical novels dealing with the pioneering era have attracted the interest of several individuals including Arthur Pound, a native of Pontiac. His *Hawk of Detroit* pictures the life of Cadillac, and *Once a Wilderness* and *Second Growth* represent later phases of the State's development.

The influence of the State upon Michigan-born Rex Beach and James Oliver Curwood is evident in several of their novels. William Briggs MacHarg, in collaboration with Edwin Balmer, produced *The Indian Drum,* a mystery story of the Great Lakes. Arnold Mulder, a Professor of English at Kalamazoo College, is the author of several novels whose background is laid in Michigan. Clarence Buddington Kelland, creator of "Scattergood Baines," was born in Michigan and began his career writing fiction for the *American Boy,* a periodical then published in Detroit.

In the field of poetry Will Carleton, a resident of southern Michigan and student of Hillsdale College, attained national prominence. His well known poems include "Over the Hill to the Poor House" and "Over the Hill from the Poor House." Edgar Guest is a contemporary poet of recognition, and Anne Campbell is the author of poems that have attracted other than local attention. Carl Sandburg was for several years a resident of Michigan. His "Kalamazoo" is one of the best known of the poems with a Michigan setting. Poetry has been encouraged by the University of Michigan, which on various occasions has brought men of recognized literary eminence to the campus to stimulate creative work in that field of writing.

Among the important nonfiction writers is Paul de Kruif, the author of many biographies of medical men, who has popularized medical science in such volumes as *Microbe Hunters, Hunger Fighters, Men against Death,* and *The Fight for Life.* Ray Stannard Baker was the accepted biographer of Woodrow Wilson; under the name of David Grayson he also wrote *Adventures in Contentment* and *Adventures in Friendship,* two well known volumes in a series of popular philosophies. Constance Rourke is the author of *American Humor* and *Roots of American Culture.*

Nationally known writers born in Michigan include Ring Lardner, Edna Ferber, and Helen Topping Miller. Ernest Hemingway spent a portion of his life in Michigan, and both his early books, *Three Stories* and *Ten Poems,* have a Michigan background.

A number of writers connected with the various faculties of

Michigan's institutions of higher learning have won recognition for works in their respective fields. Thomas M. Cooley in law, Henry Carter Adams in economics, Moses Coit Tyler in literature, and Alexander Winchell in geology were the authors of works regarded as classics in their respective fields. Claude H. Van Tyne and Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Michigan rank among the outstanding writers in American History.

Among the contemporary writers who have emphasized the importance of Michigan is ex-governor Chase S. Osborn, author of *Schoolcraft, Longfellow and Hiawatha; The Iron Hunter; The Conquest of a Continent,* and numerous other works. Of recent note is *The American Lakes Series,* edited by Milo M. Quaife, four of whose volumes deal largely with Michigan and with the Great Lakes whose ownership she shares; and Malcolm W. Bingay's *Detroit Is My Own Home Town,* a recital of journalistic contacts and memories of half a century in Michigan's metropolis.

Young writers at the University of Michigan have been encouraged by the Hopwood Award which allots approximately $10,000 annually in prizes to playwrights, poets, novelists, and essayists. The awards are made possible through a fund established by the late playwright, James Avery Hopwood. Several of its recipients, including Nolan Miller, whose *A Moth of Time* portrays a middle class Detroit family in the years prior to World War I, have won established reputations as authors.

The status of art in any community can be judged as well by the degree of public appreciation as by that of productivity, since the latter is largely a matter of the chance birth of the artist. Throughout the eighteenth century many cultured army officers—often with their families—were stationed in Michigan, and a few examples of their literary and artistic efforts still survive.[2] Prior to the development of photography many of the leading families in Michigan were anxious to secure the services of the traveling portrait artist. Not infrequently these itinerant artists combined some mural work and interior decorating with their portrait labors.

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[2] Notably the literary miscellanies of Colonel Arent S. DePeyster, and the drawing of Detroit in 1794, now in the Burton Historical Collection.

That some general interest in the fine arts existed at an early time is evidenced by the fact that Alvah Bradish lectured before the Young Men's Society on this subject in 1837. The increase in wealth naturally brought with it a population able to purchase works of art. A successful art exhibition was held in Detroit as early as 1852 and was repeated the following year.

A Detroit Art Association was formed in 1875 by several artists living in the city. This organization sponsored exhibits and had plans for the ultimate establishment of a permanent art gallery, but these ideas proved to be premature. Interest in art was not confined to Detroit. Ann Arbor was also art conscious, largely through the influence of Randolph Rogers, who gave instruction in the fine arts at the University of Michigan.

Late in the century, with the new wealth resulting from the post-Civil War era, several cities were able to intensify their interest in the arts. Detroit, the metropolis, maintained the leadership over the smaller cities of the State. Here, as the result of a successful art exhibition in 1883, a campaign was undertaken to raise $40,000 for a permanent art institute. Senator Thomas Palmer led the list of contributors with a donation of $10,000. Its permanent building was opened to the public in 1888 and remained the home of the Detroit Museum of Art until 1927, when the city government, which had begun to support the Museum in 1919, completed the present $4,000,000 edifice on Woodward Avenue. Several other cities now maintain museums, some of which have been made possible through the gifts of wealthy local citizens. Outstanding among the latter was Charles H. Hackley of Muskegon, who bequeathed $3,000,000 for various public enterprises, including an art gallery.

Art appreciation has been stimulated by private schools which are found in all the leading cities of the State. Of unusual interest is the Saugatuck Art Center, which emphasizes local setting and understanding of rural life. The Cranbrook Academy of Art is another outstanding example of the specialized character of art schools. Public school administrators recognize the importance of instruction in art, which is at present included in the curricula of all school levels. This development has proved significant, also, in providing employment for a larger number of artists. The demand for professional artists as illustrators and advertisers likewise contributed to the rapid growth of art schools after the turn of the century.

Formal art organizations have done much to promote interest in the field. The Detroit Society of Women Painters was organized in 1903 and has been especially active in conducting exhibits. The Scarab Club of Detroit is another important organization of artists which has been unusually successful in recent decades. It includes among its members the leading persons, both men and women, practicing the arts in the vicinity of Detroit. The fine arts were among the few fields that received new sources of support during the financial depression of the thirties. The Works Project Administration employed a large number of workers in the allied fields of painting, sculpture, literature, and the drama.

Although Michigan has been the home of only a few artists of national fame, a considerable number of Michigan painters and sculptors have exhibited their works in the galleries of Europe. One of the earliest of Michigan artists was Randolph Rogers (1825-92), who is remembered as the creator of the Soldiers' Monument in Detroit.

James O. Lewis, who came to Detroit in 1824, is one of Michigan's earliest portrait artists. His portraits of Father Gabriel Richard, Lewis Cass, and others, and his sketches of Black Hawk and other Indian chieftains are highly prized. The design of the first Seal of the State is also credited to Lewis. J. M. Stanley, who came to Michigan in 1834, did extensive work in landscapes and also has left portraits of some of the Indian chieftains. His painting of the interview between Major Gladwin and the Indian girl who is reputed to have disclosed the plot of Pontiac in 1763 is owned by the Detroit Public Library. T. H. O. P. Burnham, nicknamed "Alphabet Burnham" because of this elaborate list of initials, was an artist of some ability in Detroit during the thirties of the last century. His portrayal of the

Detroit election in 1837 is now the property of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Allen Smith is remembered because of his portrait of Governor Mason (which is kept in the Capitol at Lansing). Alvah Bradish was a portrait artist of local renown who became a professor of fine arts at the University of Michigan in 1852. Robert S. Duncanson, an Ohio Negro whose training in art included European study financed by an antislavery group, was active as a portrait artist in Detroit during the forties and after the Civil War. Robert Hopkin, a native of Scotland, spent most of his adult life in Detroit, where he did numerous landscapes and marine scenes. William B. Conely, who divided his time between Kalamazoo and Detroit, was another pioneer artist of repute whose field was still life and portraits.

Julius Theodore Melchers was a sculptor and woodcarver of considerable reputation who lived in Detroit from 1855 until his death in 1903. He is remembered chiefly as a man who inspired and directed others in architecture, fine arts, and commercial art. He taught classes in drawing in the German Society Hall in Detroit. He was the father of Gari Melchers, whose murals adorn the present Detroit Public Library.

Julius Rolshoven was born in Detroit in 1858 and received his early training in New York, followed by study in Germany and France. Although most of his painting was done in Italy, he often returned to the city of his birth for long periods.

Lewis T. Ives was a lawyer by profession who devoted much time to the painting of portraits of public officials. Because of the large demand for his portraits, he abandoned his law practice and devoted his time exclusively to painting. A son, Percy Ives, born in Detroit in 1864, studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and in Paris. He followed the profession of portrait painting in Detroit until his death in 1928. An indication of his artistic reputation can be gleaned from the fact that he was invited to paint the portraits of President Grover Cleveland and many other distinguished Americans.

Joseph W. Gies, Francis Paulos, Edwin H. Kiefer, Charles Waltensperger, and Ida Marie Perrault were other native Detroit artists of esteem. Miss Perrault was particularly noted for her color pictures of children. Douglas Arthur Teague, a native of New York state, spent a number of years in Detroit before his death in 1929. He was interested in landscape, in particular.

Frederick Stewart Church was born in Grand Rapids but spent most of his time outside of the State. Eanger Irving Couse (1866-1936) was primarily interested in Indian pictures. He worked among the tribes in the Southwest but also included some Michigan Indian themes. Myron Barlow, born in Ionia, was interested chiefly in local themes which won distinction. Frederick Wiley, Thomas Gilbert, Ezra Winter, Judson Smith, Roy Gamble, and Zoltan Sepeshy are among the contemporary artists of renown.

Music has always enjoyed a more receptive audience than any of the other arts. Pianos are mentioned in the later years of the eighteenth century in Detroit. The rôle of the churches has always been significant because of the choirs; although secular music also had an early appeal. A concert was given in Detroit as early as 1833 by an outside singer who was assisted by a local chorus. Brass band concerts were instituted the following year and drew large audiences. Because of the improvement in transportation, a number of towns in the later thirties and forties maintained music teachers. A number of singing schools were organized, primarily for the purpose of promoting sacred music, although many of them soon came to include secular and instrumental music.

By the middle of the century, several localities possessed musical associations, of which the Detroit Musical Association, formed in 1850, was an outstanding example. Traveling groups of musicians became commonplace before the Civil War, and these performers were given much publicity. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, Swiss bell ringers and minstrel shows also became popular. An Italian Opera Company from New York appeared at Detroit in 1850, an English Opera Company drew large audiences in 1856, and three years later a visiting New Orleans Opera group proved popular. Amateur musical societies became increasingly numerous from the middle of the century. The Harmonie Society was organized by Germans in Detroit in 1849. Seven years later this society claimed 145 members, including many prominent business and professional people of the city. Fritz Abel and William Yunck were among its early distinguished directors. The club had its own hall after 1865 and, in addition to its choral work, sponsored many operatic programs. The Detroit Lyric Society also had a large membership. The Concordia Society, organized in 1866, was interested primarily in the production of light operas.

The first large orchestra in Detroit was founded in 1869 under the direction of Max Bendix. The Detroit Symphony Orchestra, organized in 1872 with forty members, remained active until about 1910. After that date the Detroit Orchestral Society sponsored concerts by symphony orchestras from other cities. The interest in these programs led to a revival of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, which secured the services of Ossip Gabrilowitsch as director of an orchestra of eighty musicians in 1919. It was liberally supported and, under Gabrilowitsch and his successors, became one of the best known orchestras in the country, whose talents were appreciated by large audiences reached through concert tours. The Detroit Civic Operetta Company was started in 1928 by Thaddeus Wronski, who served both as general manager and director of the chorus and stage.

The greater interest in music was accompanied by an improvement in accommodations. The Detroit Opera House was built in 1869 and was the forerunner of later edifices including the Light Guard Armory (1890) and Orchestra Hall built in 1919. The orchestra lost possession of its home in the depression of the thirties, and in 1943 it obtained larger quarters in the Masonic Temple. Two years later it acquired the Wilson Theater (re-named Music Hall) as a permanent home.

Developments in some of the smaller cities have paralleled those in Detroit. In the smaller towns the band remains as the important community musical unit. Its concerts, which enjoyed unusual prestige in the era between 1880 and 1918, were usually given weekly and were events of major importance. Farmers drove in from miles around and brought their families with them. If a grandstand were lacking, the concert was usually given in an important public square. Merchants vied with one another for the privilege of sponsoring the particular concert.

Private schools of music have enjoyed a long history in all the leading cities. A new type of musical center which has attracted national attention is Interlochen, located in the heart of Michigan's vacation land near Traverse City, which has been the home of the national school musicians' camp since 1929. It puts primary emphasis on musical instrumentation and practice for high school students during the summer vacation period. Its summer orchestras are composed of outstanding high school musicians from the entire United States. More recently a college division has been established. Instruction in both divisions is given in drama, art, modern dancing, radio broadcasting, and recreational leadership under the direction of able teachers.

All of the colleges have offered instruction in music. Since 1894 the University of Michigan has sponsored a distinguished Music Festival held each May. Outstanding artists from the entire world are secured for these presentations, which enjoy an enviable reputation in musical circles.

The public schools have also added music to their curriculum. The auditoriums in the majority of junior high and high schools have been able to accommodate large student groups who are instructed in music appreciation by victrola, radio, and personal appearances of artists.

The number of Michigan-born composers is not large, and not one has enjoyed a national reputation. Likewise, few songs have had Michigan as a setting. Even "Michigan, My Michigan," the State anthem, has a basis that is not native. The music for it was first published in 1840 by Karl Anschutz, a rural musical director in Germany, who was the composer both of the words and music of the very popular German "Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum." The words apparently were written during the Civil War by Miss Winifred Lee Brent (afterwards Mrs. Henry F. Lister, wife of an army surgeon of Detroit) who was inspired to compose the words because of war events.

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CHAPTER 32

Depression, Recovery, and War

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the rapid urbanization (with the corresponding increase of wage-earners dependent upon industry) that the State had experienced was finally appreciated during the thirties. Throughout the entire decade the "depression," as the financial panic was termed, was a theme of major interest in Michigan. Its leading cities had become dependent upon manufacturing. At the opening of the century 39.3 per cent of Michigan's inhabitants lived in urban areas and 60.7 per cent in rural sections; thirty years later the urban districts contained 68.2 per cent and the rural area but 31.8 per cent. In 1900, 33.5 per cent of the gainful workers in the state were dependent upon agriculture; but by 1930, only 12.8 per cent were in this category, and manufacturing had become the basis of livelihood of 40.8 per cent.

The thirties were characterized by a new interest in politics and an emphasis upon economic reforms greater than had been previously known. Both Republicans and Democrats were pledged to policies of change, although the platforms of the latter were the more radical of the two. For the first time in many years Michigan became a doubtful state, politically.

In the contest of 1934 Michigan returned to Republicanism and elected Frank D. Fitzgerald, Republican, as Governor, although the Democrats continued to be well represented in the Legislature. Two years later, with the New Deal as the major issue, the Democrats gained control in the State, and Frank Murphy, former mayor of Detroit and ex-Governor General of the Philippines, defeated Fitzgerald for governor. President Roosevelt's margin over Alfred Landon, his Republican opponent, was decisive. Prentiss M. Brown, a Democrat, was elected United States Senator. In the off-year State election of 1938, former Governor Fitzgerald defeated Governor Murphy, but the new executive died in office on March 16, 1939 and was succeeded by Luren D. Dickinson, who had been Lieutenant Governor for several terms. The new chief executive, born in 1859, had the distinction of being the oldest governor in the United States. In 1940, the presidential election in Michigan was very close, with the urban vote favoring the Democrats and the rural vote largely Republican. Wendell Willkie, Republican presidential candidate, received a bare majority of the total vote, as did Murray D. Van Wagoner, a Democrat, who was elected Governor. Senator Vandenberg, alone of the candidates for major state offices, withstood the Democratic inroads, but the Legislature had a Republican majority in each house. In 1942, Harry Kelly, a Republican, was elected Governor; and Homer Ferguson, a Republican, defeated Senator Brown. In 1944, the State failed to give a majority to Michigan-born Thomas Dewey, the Republican presidential nominee, who was defeated by President Roosevelt. Governor Kelly and the rest of the Republican State ticket were, however, victorious. In the 1946 election the Republicans displayed a strength not demonstrated since 1930. In the most prominent state contest Kim Sigler defeated former Governor Van Wagoner who had been nominated by the Democrats.

Irrespective of party, a noticeable degree of reform was achieved within the State. All State administrations were concerned with welfare problems, and the financial system of Michigan was changed to meet the new conditions. Because of the decline in property values, the property tax, which had been the main source of State and local revenues, became insufficient to carry on the government and to furnish funds for the increased need of relief. The State relinquished its taxation of realty to the local units of government, which were in dire need of increased revenue, and cast about for new sources of income. A retail sales tax, a depression-born expedient adopted in 1933, produced $34,000,000 the first year and $53,000,000 by 1938. Its yield for the fiscal year of 1946 was $115,916,000. A chain store tax was also adopted but it netted less revenue than had been anticipated. In 1938, taxes collected by the State and shared by the local governments, according to percentages established by law and grants made outright by the Legislature to local units, amounted to $91,000,000 as compared with $33,000,000 in 1930. Between 1936 and 1946 the payments made by the State to local units of government exceeded $1,284,000,000. This aid was utilized primarily for schools, welfare, and highways.

The State government became the spending agency of Federal funds for old-age pensions, aid to dependent children, and relief administration. Despite its larger expenditures, the State was entirely free from debt by 1944.

Departures in governmental policy were not confined to measures of relief. On November 8, 1932 the electorate, by a vote of 1,022,508 to 247,565, repealed the State prohibition amendment under the assumption that the Twenty-first Amendment to the United States Constitution (which would repeal national prohibition) would be ratified. Delegates to a Michigan Ratifying Convention, elected in the spring of 1933, voted ninety-nine to one for the Twenty-first Amendment. This opposition to prohibition, which had shown such strength in the State just prior to World War I, was in part a reaction against rum-running across the Canadian border and the appearance of racketeer gangs, and in part a belief that the revenue collected from the sale of liquor would aid the barren treasury. A Liquor Control Commission was created in 1933. It issues licenses for the sale of liquor, designates the hours during which beverages may be sold, and exercises general control over the liquor traffic within the State. After a spirited discussion, the State decided to establish state-owned liquor stores, and this marked the first major venture into business activities since the failure of the internal improvements program a century earlier.

It should not be assumed that the rejection of prohibition signified indifference toward all reforms. The spoils system which had prevailed in the appointment of state employees was finally ended by the institution of a state system of Civil Service. A law was enacted in 1937, and amended in 1939, which provided for civil service and created a Civil Service Commission of four members. By 1941 the vast majority of employees of the State were selected by, and subject to, civil service regulations.

The effects of the depression were gradually overcome. By 1935 a high degree of recovery could be observed in the Detroit area. This recovery came earlier than in many other cities, and the 1937 peak of employment was above the level for the United States. In 1940, although the number of income tax returns throughout the United States was 111.7 per 10,000 people, the figure for Michigan was 145.2. Detroit was almost double the national average with 217.6.

The development of new sources of wealth contributed to recovery. Foremost among these was the petroleum industry, which brought prosperity to many sections of the State. The first active drillings for oil were made in the Port Huron area in 1886 and were stimulated by the efforts of Pennsylvania promoters.[1] The yield was insufficient, however, to warrant the continuation of operations.

The new demand for petroleum products, resulting from the increase in the automotive and aviation industries, led to a renewal of interest in the search for oil in Michigan about 1912. From this date until 1915 the Saginaw area was explored, but the wells that were drilled did not yield enough to warrant continuation of operations. A small amount of petroleum was produced in Monroe County in 1920. The first large-scale commercial oil field was developed in Saginaw in 1925, and its success encouraged many oil men to explore the possibilities in that vicinity. Thousands of acres of land were leased, and drilling began on an elaborate scale. A large refinery for the processing of Michigan crude oil was completed in 1927. This same year witnessed the development of a new oil field in the Muskegon area. This region did not prove to contain large reserves, however, and production dropped off rapidly. Because of the initial successes in the Saginaw area, which long had been assumed to be a potential source of supply, the search for oil in central Michigan was vigorously and successfully prosecuted. In a sense this step marks the beginning of the modern Michigan oil industry. In 1939, 479 wells were drilled in forty-six of Michigan's eighty-three counties. A considerable amount of the oil-bearing land was owned by the State, which had acquired title to it because of tax delinquencies. In 1938 the State government received over $500,000 from oil royalties, bonuses, and rentals.

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[1] Random drillings date back to 1866.

The tourist trade also became a large-scale industry during the thirties. From the beginning of the century certain Michigan towns, well situated because of railroad and lake shore facilities, had drawn "permanent resorters" and could claim a considerable summer population. During the thirties, however, because of the widespread improvement of highways, it became possible for large numbers of people to reach the northern portions of the State with comparative ease, and lakes and towns not located on main highways became attractive resort centers. The week-end tourist became as important to the resort towns as the season guests. This emphasis upon the recreational possibilities of Michigan was not confined to the summer months. Snow trains ran on week-ends from Detroit to Grayling where skiing and other winter sports were encouraged. The specific attractions and advantages of southwestern and southeastern Michigan and the Upper Peninsula were widely advertised by tourist associations representing those areas. Manistee, Traverse City, Charlevoix, Petoskey, Mackinaw City, Alpena, Grayling, and Marquette are a few of the many cities that have become resort centers.

The gradual recovery in all phases of Michigan industrial life was stimulated by the beginning of national defense activities in 1940 and accelerated by World War II. During the struggle Detroit became known as the "Arsenal of Democracy," although industrial expansion in the State was not confined to the metropolis. A total of $778,900,000 worth of new manufacturing plants was constructed to supplement the industries that converted to war production. Michigan was out-ranked only by Ohio and Pennsylvania in the value of new plants, conversions, and expansions. Michigan furnished $27,000,000,000 worth of war munitions—more than any other state. Of the total sum represented in the war production program, aircraft accounted for $561,966,000; combat and motorized vehicles, $290,477,000; guns, $189,850,000; nonferrous metals, $152,011,000; iron and steel, $68,275,000; ammunition, $65,175,000; electrical equipment, $52,882,000; and machine tools, $51,441,000.

Much of this development was spectacular. The huge Willow Run Bomber Plant operated by the Ford Motor Company represented an expenditure of $100,000,000. It was completed in May, 1942, and at the peak period gave employment to 42,000 workers. It built 8,685 B-24 Liberator bombers, a greater number than were produced at any other aircraft plant in the United States. The Chrysler Tank Arsenal at Detroit and the General Motors Tank Arsenal near Flint represented expenditures on a similar scale. Unlike World War I, manufacturing was not confined to the larger cities. Ludington, with a $22,000,000 chemical plant, rated thirteenth among twenty-six manufacturing areas placed in war production solely because of new plant construction. Naval vessels were produced in a number of centers, including even some inland cities. Cadillac, for example, furnished a large number of landing craft. The labor for this increased productivity was recruited from various sources. Thousands came from all parts of the United States to work in the leading industrial centers. For the first time, large numbers of women and young people found employment in the factories. Schools in Detroit, Flint, and elsewhere gave special instruction in war industrial courses to thousands. Despite all of these additional sources of labor, the manpower shortage was acute throughout the entire war.

The State was again called upon to furnish many thousands for the armed services. Approximately 600,000 men and women entered the armed forces between September 16, 1940 (the date of the Selective Service Act) and December, 1945.[2] Over 14,000 were numbered among the missing and the dead. The number of cantonments was also larger than in World War I. Fort Custer and Selfridge Field were again utilized. Large airports were located at Romulus and Willow Run. The Grosse Ile Naval Base trained hundreds of aviators. The Dearborn Naval School, in coöperation with the Ford Motor Company, gave instruction to hundreds of mechanics. Coast Guard stations were located at Port Huron and other cities along the lake shore.

To guard against sabotage, the Office of Civilian Defense under the direction of Captain Don S. Leonard, Civilian Defense Director, perfected an organization including 161 county and municipal Defense Council Chairmen. Early in the war this agency was also entrusted with the task of training hundreds of volunteer workers to qualify as air-raid wardens. Also under its jurisdiction was the garden program and the frequent salvage campaigns for additional rubber, tin, paper, and other essential materials. Generous contributions to the war effort were made by civilians both in money and time. All of the bond drives were oversubscribed. Campaigns for the Red Cross and for various relief organizations likewise exceeded their quotas. U. S. O. centers in the leading cities cared for the recreational needs of thousands of service men.

The social and economic effects of the industrial activity can be only partially observed. The cost of living in Detroit from June 15, 1939 to June, 1943 rose 28 per cent, while the average increase for thirty-four large cities throughout the nation was only 26.6 per cent. Living costs in Michigan mounted 20.1 per cent between September 1, 1941 and December 1, 1945. The average weekly earnings during the same interval rose from $41.06 to $47.92.

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[2] A State bonus to the veterans was authorized in 1946.

The serious social dislocation, which was especially acute in the Detroit metropolitan area, was most painfully observed in the race riot of June, 1943 when thirty-five individuals (including twenty-eight Negroes) were killed, approximately 1,000 persons injured, and $2,000,000 of property destroyed in looting and rioting. Michigan's Negro population of 6,700 increased only to 17,000 in the half century between 1860 and 1910. It jumped to 60,000 between 1910 and 1920 and stood at 208,000 twenty years later. Most of this increase was in the Detroit metropolitan area, and it was estimated that the city had a Negro population of well over 150,000 in 1943. Housing congestion, discrimination, and a lack of adequate social and recreational facilities for the Negroes were accompanied by numerous tensions that culminated in the June disaster. Leaders of both races immediately went to work to restore amity and to improve social conditions.

The Detroit area was not the only one to experience economic repercussions, for even rural districts evidenced corresponding changes. Mortgages were greatly reduced. Farm values increased almost to an inflationary degree. In six counties covered by a special study, acreage increased in value from an average of $59 in the first quarter of 1932 to $79 in the first quarter of 1945. The State's total farm acreage under cultivation showed a 5.1 per cent increase between 1940 and 1945. More farms utilized mechanized equipment to overcome the disadvantages resulting from the shortage of farm man power.

Reconversion, as the initial months of the postwar adjustment were termed, was not characterized by the dislocation and widespread unemployment that many had feared and some had predicted. Despite considerable labor unrest the return to civilian production was rapid. Leaders in all fields confidently awaited an era of economic and social progress.

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Appendix

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Governor	Date of Inauguration
Stevens Thompson Mason, Governor	Nov. 3, 1835
Edward Mundy, Lieut. Gov., Acting Governor	Apr. 13 to June 12, 1838; Sept. 19, to Dec. 9, 1838
William Woodbridge, Governor	Jan. 7, 1840
James Wright Gordon, Lieut. Gov., Acting Governor	Feb. 24, 1841
John S. Barry, Governor	Jan. 3, 1842
Alpheus Felch, Governor	Jan. 5, 1846
William L. Greenly, Lieut. Gov., Acting Governor	Mar. 4, 1847
Epaphroditus Ransom, Governor	Jan. 3, 1848
John S. Barry, Governor	Jan. 7, 1850
Robert McClelland, Governor	Jan. 1, 1851
Andrew Parsons, Lieut. Gov., Acting Governor	Mar. 8, 1853
Kingsley S. Bingham, Governor	Jan. 3, 1855
Moses Wisner, Governor	Jan. 5, 1859
Austin Blair, Governor	Jan. 2, 1861
Henry H. Crapo, Governor	Jan. 4, 1865
Henry P. Baldwin, Governor	Jan. 6, 1869
John J. Bagley, Governor	Jan. 1, 1873
Charles M. Croswell, Governor	Jan. 3, 1877
David H. Jerome, Governor	Jan. 1, 1881
Josiah W. Begole, Governor	Jan. 1, 1883
Russell A. Alger, Governor	Jan. 1, 1885
Cyrus G. Luce, Governor	Jan. 1, 1887
Edwin B. Winans, Governor	Jan. 1, 1891
John T. Rich, Governor	Jan. 1, 1893
Hazen S. Pingree, Governor	Jan. 1, 1897

Governor	Date of Inauguration
Aaron T. Bliss, Governor	Jan. 1, 1901
Fred M. Warner, Governor	Jan. 2, 1905
Chase S. Osborn, Governor	Jan. 2, 1911
Woodbridge N. Ferris, Governor	Jan. 1, 1913
Albert E. Sleeper, Governor	Jan. 1, 1917
Alexander J. Groesbeck, Governor	Jan. 1, 1921
Fred W. Green, Governor	Jan. 1, 1927
Wilber Brucker, Governor	Jan. 1, 1931
William Comstock, Governor	Jan. 1, 1933
Frank Fitzgerald, Governor	Jan. 1, 1935
Frank Murphy, Governor	Jan. 1, 1937
Frank Fitzgerald, Governor	Jan. 1, 1939
Luren Dickinson, Governor	Mar. 16, 1939
Murray Van Wagoner, Governor	Jan. 1, 1941
Harry F. Kelly, Governor	Jan. 1, 1943
Kim Sigler, Governor	Jan. 1, 1947

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